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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1932

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

May I express my great appreciation of the kind thought you had for me when you invited me to address this Convocation? I find it difficult to refuse an invitation which gives me an opportunity of meeting young men and women who will be called upon to contribute in however small a measure to the building of a new India.

I congratulate the recipients of the degrees on their successful completion of the prescribed courses of study. I congratulate them more on the exceptional opportunities which they will have to serve, with their gifts and talents, this great country in its hour of need. The life opening out before them will test and discover how far the time spent in its University has been able to produce in them what may be called the 'University' mind.

Understanding.

I take it that this University was founded in pursuance of the policy of the Government to encourage unitary and residential Universities in which unofficial social contacts count for more than official lectures and examinations. An understanding of life fostered by the social and athletic activities, by the clash

* Delivered by Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., at the University of Lucknow, on 5th December, 1931,

of personality, by the interchange of opinion, by the testing of views, is more important than even intellectual gifts. 'Understanding' does not mean learning or skill but what the French proverb suggests 'To understand all is to forgive all.' It helps us to feel the complexity as well as the mystery of life. There is so much in it of which we know little. The man of understanding does not profess to have an opinion on everything and does not sum up an author in a phrase or a civilization in an epigram. He has the openness of outlook, the freedom and flexibility of thought, the capacity to imagine other states of mind. His mind possesses space and air and is thus free from dogmatism and is ever ready to sympathize with views which it does not share. Understanding in this sense is what enables our thoughts and desires to be subordinated to a chosen end, what makes life yield its full significance.

Understanding is not something which can be measured by the tape or weighed in the balance and delivered to the students by the members of the faculty at the Convocation ceremony. It is a contagion that one catches. The ancients symbolized culture which is acquired in a college to a torch that is passed on from hand to hand down the generations. This lighted torch is a dangerous gift. It has stirred many an upheaval, started many a conflagration. It symbolizes the spirit of revolution, the cleansing fire which burns the wood, hay, and stubble that have come down to us. If we are afraid of the upturnings of the soil, of the social, economic and political upheavals consequent on the spread of this fire, we should not go near a University. We may as well shut it down.

The Spirit of Youth.

If University education is to enable us to anticipate needs and meet new situations, it should not be hampered by obsolete thought and tradition. An educated man is not one who lives in petrified illusions but is released from the burden of inert

ideas. He preserves the sense of wonder and curiosity and his mind is fresh and adventurous. The spirit of a University is the spirit of youth. In Plato's *Timaeus* we read that one of the Egyptian Priests who was of a very great age said: 'O Solon, Solon, you Hellenes are but children, and there was never an old man who was a Hellene.' Solon in return asked him what he meant. 'I mean to say,' he replied, 'that in mind you are all young; there is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age.' The Greeks had no venerated classics or hoary books to check their free speculation. They never suffered from the weight of the past. Somewhat the same idea underlies the Sanskrit saying: Vimarśa-rūpinī vidyā. The sense of discrimination, the spirit of criticism is the essence of education. The University has to foster the type of mind that does not take the usual for granted, that makes conventions fluid, that does not believe that its ways of thought and life are a part of the eternal order of nature. A mind that is young in spirit has the saving grace of scepticism. It has confidence in its capacity to face the new. If a University produces men who are low-spirited, who play for safety, care for comfort, are afraid to take any risks, then that University has failed in its essential task. If it takes hold of the young with all the fulness and ardour of their youth and turns them into timid, selfish, conservative men, if it petrifies their ideas and freezes their initiative, the University has failed as a University. It is the duty of man to move on. He is a born adventurer. "Here have we no continuing city but we seek one to come."

It is a common delusion to assume that our young men are free-thinking and that they are delivered from the bondage of authority and tradition, that each young graduate is working out a new code and devising a new creed from himself. I wish it were so but nothing of the kind is happening. The modern mind is singularly servile to its teachers and leaders. It will believe almost anything it is told. It is intellectually timid and prefers to take its opinions from others. Every demagogue is

hailed as a newly discovered prophet and the latest fashion is welcomed as a new revelation. Our young men are not able to resist appeals to their passions and prejudices and in many cases we find that their voice of reason is hushed and their vision is clouded by the appeal to the selfish claims and interests. Timidity and conservatism are the general habits of mind and they are the greatest dangers to society. The classical age of Greece terminated, as we all know, with a 'failure of nerve.'

Political Unrest.

There are brief periods in the life of individuals, decades in the history of peoples, which through the intensity of the emotions they produce and the results they achieve are worth centuries of ordinary life. India is passing through such a historic period. The passion for political freedom is the greatest ferment at work. Even the left wing politicians would not care to deny the immense services rendered to this country by the early British administrators who established peace and security in territories which were frequently subjected to the ravages of contending hosts. But it would be equally futile to overlook the loss of self-respect and manhood of the nation incident to foreign rule. The present condition of mental and moral decay consequent on political subjection and economic depression is engaging our attention. The study of Western history and institutions has roused in us a love of freedom and a sense of self-respect. Love of liberty is a native instinct of the human soul. Freedom is not coveted as a means for any further end of efficiency of administration or economic prosperity. It is not a means to any other end, it is itself the highest end. Lord Acton in his *History of Freedom in Antiquity* (1877) says: "A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor and weak and of no account but free, rather than powerful, prosperous, and enslaved." A nation has the right to gain experience of self-government even at the price of less efficient

government. The strong desire to embody the ideas of freedom and self-determination in definite political institutions has become a burning passion owing to a number of factors of which the chief are, the poverty of the county, middle-class unemployment, low literacy, high death rates, costly civil administration, a heavy military budget, and the Great War fought avowedly for the principles of freedom and self-determination. I do not believe that there is a single Britisher who is loyal to his own history and true to his own traditions who will deny the legitimacy of India's claim to Indian rule. Every country in the world exhorts its citizens to buy its own goods and it cannot be a crime if we encourage our own industries. If our leaders demand that we should control our own political and economic affairs, it is the natural result of the policy of Great Britain in this country.

The clock of time can neither go back nor stand still. It is impossible for the British statesmen to go back on their past and attempt to rule India by force. Repression cannot stop the growth of legitimate political aspirations, even as violence on our part cannot further it. It is deplorable that some of our young men in their impatience for political freedom are attracted by the cult of violence. Its destructive nature is not properly understood by those who resort to it. If it is allowed to grow not only will it postpone the day of India's liberation but will leave behind it a legacy which will make civilized existence difficult. It is our duty to make the path of reason and reconciliation more attractive to them. It will be a great day not only for India and Great Britain but for the whole world if a just settlement is arrived at by which India is content to remain a member of the British Empire, without sacrifice of her pride, self-respect, and freedom of independent nationhood. Great Britain, I dare say, has not forgotten how she lost the North American Colonies and retained the South African Union. India will not refuse to remain a member of the British Empire, if such membership means connection with Great Britain for

mutual advantage and not control by Great Britain for her own interests.

The problem is not solved, however, if responsibility for the Government of India is transferred to Indian hands. It is a fond illusion to think that everybody will be happy and contented the moment India obtains freedom to manage her own affairs. Swaraj cannot cure all ills. Referring to the Reform Bill, Sydney Smith said : " All young ladies will imagine, as soon as the Bill is passed, that they will be instantly married. School boys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished and that currant tarts must come down in price; the corporal and the sergeant are sure of double pay ; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics." Simply because Home Rule for India is obtained, we need not think that we will have plenty to eat, enough to drink, good clothes, pleasant homes, good education, and sufficient leisure for all. Self-government does not mean that all heads will become hard and all pillows soft. We cannot make an Utopia to order. The first essential for achieving political freedom as well as for guarding it when attained is a juster social order. We must build a social structure rooted in principles of truth, freedom, and equality. The University men are both the builders and the material of the new structure, and if they go out of the University and enter life imbued by the principles of honesty and adventure, vision and courage, they will help us to build the new India which is yet to be.

The Present Crisis.

There are periods in the life of every country when the interests of the whole demand the sacrifice of private claims. The European nations in the Great War lived in one of such periods when their citizens set aside their individual comforts and interests for the sake of the national well-being. It is not true that such periods occur only when nations are threatened by external enemies. When a flood or a famine overtakes a land,

a situation arises when the interests of the whole country dominate those of the individuals who compose it. To my mind, our country to-day is faced by a crisis of the first magnitude. It is not war or revolution or national bankruptcy but internal disruption that is threatening us. The new India which we are attempting to build is being strangled at its very birth by anti-national forces. In the hour of our awakening we find ourselves surrounded by forces which make for our continued bondage. The failure to reach a communal settlement has had grave reactions. Faith, security, and hope are displaced by a new distrust, a new anxiety, a new uncertainty. We have lost the spirit of courage and experiment associated with progressive nations. Mighty nations in the past had been doomed to decay because they could not change in response to changed conditions. History found them useless and swept them aside in its onward march. If we are to preserve ourselves, we must use the lighted torch, the cleansing fire, the spirit that rebels. We must wrestle with the past that oppresses us, the relics of barbarism that threaten our very life, the fantastic notions about elemental facts that militate against decent living. We do things in our daily life which are a disgrace to our humanity. We eat food, wear clothes, and enjoy comforts, while those who produce them are dying by degrees in unhealthy surroundings and bad economic conditions. We repress our natural sympathy with those who suffer because it does not pay us. An acceptance of large-scale injustice is the price we pay for our comforts. We applaud an aberration which denies human rights to millions of our kith and kin, and, to our lasting shame, we confound it with religion.

The Mediæval Mind.

Your education has been in vain if you are not protected from the dangers of dogmatism. No opinion is true simply because it is handed down from the past, and we cling to it with

passion. It does not become more true simply because we have it in our power to impose penalties on those who refuse to accept it. The spirit of democracy is opposed to that of dictatorship. It does not matter whether it is of the religious or of the political type. If we are truly democratic, we will understand that it requires all sorts to make a world and we need not think that those who differ from us in their religious views go straight to hell. We must have the humility to admit the value of the contributions which others make, however remote they may be in their inner gifts and mental outlook from us. The tragic incidents of Cawnpur, Dacca, Chittagong, and the anti-national movements show that we are still mediæval in our mind and outlook, however much we may agitate for a constitution on the 20th century model. In the Middle Ages, the Church was the recognized custodian of the whole life of man, secular and religious. But if the Church lords of modern Europe attempt to continue the same tradition and enact laws regarding the seemly length of a woman's skirt, they will be laughed at and yet ordinances no less amusing are taken more seriously even by our educated men, and in pursuance of them, we do not hesitate to fight with each other. The priestly classes still occupy a dominant position in our social order or, may I say, disorder. So long as we are unable to resist their influence and continue to think that the caste or the community matters more than the country, we are mediæval in our minds and are unfit for true democracy. If we do not check this growing menace, we will drift back into barbarism. The aspirations and disabilities are common to all classes and communities. If we suffer from insufficient nourishment, lack of due care for health, lack of work and rest under healthy conditions, they are not the monopoly of any class or community. Let it not be said when the history of the freedom movement in India comes to be written that any section, Hindu or Muslim, Sikh or Christian, betrayed the cause of the country for the sake of its own selfish gain.

The Need for Revolt.

We hear on all sides about the revolt of youth. I am afraid I have a good deal of sympathy with this attitude of revolt, and my complaint is that it is not sufficiently widespread. The general tendency to regard our ancient civilization as idealistic and the modern one as materialistic is not the expression of revolt but of reaction. It is a specious rationalization in defence of our conservatism. There is nothing idealistic about disease or poverty, nothing spiritual in a system that uses human beings as beasts of burden. There is nothing materialistic about the application of science to the relief of human distress or the promotion of human happiness. The future seems to be with the youth who revolt against a corrupt social order and religious fanaticism. Those who are indifferent when the situation is so grave are guilty of cruelty. Injustice thrives on the indifference of the people. The bad employer, the unjust law, the corrupt leader, the false teacher thrives, because they have never been challenged. The unjust prevail because those who have a sense of justice suffer from inertia. If you have the imagination to visualize the amount of suffering, physical and mental, which a half-clothed and half-starved people stand for, you cannot be indifferent.

The spirit of revolt against wrongs of society is not to be confused with indiscipline or intolerance. It is quite consistent with deep inward courtesy and consideration for the feelings of others. We need not surrender fundamental good manners which are essential in every form of civilized society.

Conclusion.

Many of our leaders aim not at truth but at success. They colour facts to suit their prejudices. We have studied with profit the methods of crowd suggestion and are employing them to deceive the ignorant. When you step out of the University and enter

life, you are tempted to say what you are expected to say and not what you really think. It will be your task to discriminate between wise and dangerous leadership, between a competent, constructive, courageous one which looks to the future and a wasteful, destructive one which clings to the past. The older generation will soon pass away and you will step into the breach. You will have unique opportunities of showing your worth in this period of national stress. You will be called upon to fight the strongholds of ignorance and selfishness by hard thinking and bold effort. You cannot hope to drift on a tide of patriotic emotions into a ready-made Utopia. You will have to prepare for a new order by hard work and hard thinking. You will not fail the country at a time when it stands in need of your service and guidance, if you remember the ideals which your University has put before you and stand up for courage and justice, truthfulness and fair-play. Time will show whether you are anxious for ease and comfort or truth and suffering, whether the University has developed in you qualities of courage, determination, and self-denial or made you into snobs much too respectable, much too self-satisfied, much too ease-loving and afraid to do anything. Will you help India to break her bonds or will you bind them faster? Will you make out in your lives that it is a libel against you to say that a life of service and suffering has less attraction for you than one of career and comfort? Time will answer. Farewell.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

The task that awaits one called upon to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy is by no means enviable. Paradoxically enough, an address of this kind on Indian Philosophy ushers itself as a 'stranger from afar,' and engenders at once an atmosphere of acquired unfamiliarity or academic aloofness. Accordingly, our minds are at a moment's notice switched off with a violent wrench, as it were, along new lines of thought and we seem to enter the dreary lumber-room of antiquated thought-products, or, at least, a museum of antiquities and curios, where we continually miss the warm and breathing beauty of that flesh-bound thinking which our hearts found delightful elsewhere. Besides, what renders the task doubly difficult is the immensity of the scope of Indian Philosophy in reference to which a broad, general survey, of the kind attempted here, is bound to prove rather pointless or vague, and thus fail to do justice to its individuality no less than to its myriad-minded interests. In point of fact 'Indian Philosophy' connotes not merely one department or constituency alongside of others, but an entire dominion in itself; and it is high time that we acknowledged the dominion status which it is, by its very nature, entitled to. But in justifying this higher status, and collaterally the much-prized individuality of Indian Philosophy, one need not go so far as to claim, on its behalf, an awful isolation that even defies comparison with all else. Such an attempt, launched in pursuit of a fancied superiority, defeats its own end. For in

claiming an incomparable eminence for it, its apologists remove it from the only sphere where the superiority in question can, if at all, be substantiated. Indian Philosophy has unduly suffered in the past under the pressure of an embarrassing charity and extravagant enthusiasm on the part of its well-meaning apologists, both at home and abroad. But they would be well advised to remember, that moderation is a virtue that has its efficacy, here as elsewhere. All that this exaggerated sense of the individuality of Indian Philosophy has earned for itself, as it needs must do by way of Nemesis, is a summary dismissal, by every average Historian of Philosophy, as being theology or mythology rather than philosophy. While I believe—and in that belief I yield probably to none—that Indian philosophic thought has, down the course of ages, maintained a well-marked individuality, I do yet think that it need not, and assuredly does not, suffer by comparison and that its individuality is to be assessed at the thought-exchange of the world. It is the early inspiration which I received, during my student days, from one of my revered teachers that has taught me to believe that a study in Indian Philosophy must be either comparative or nothing. The so-called comparative method, which makes out its engrossing concern to be the accentuation of the points of affinity to the utter neglect of the points of divergence between differing systems of thought, Eastern or Western, must have doubtless missed its vocation. It has the effect of bringing down all systems of thought to the dead level of a barren uniformity, and thus stultifying itself under the incidence of that Night 'in which all cows are black.' The enormity of the situation is heightened all the more when the affinities in question are sought to be explained as cases of conscious or unconscious borrowing. Believing as I do in fundamental human unity, I am persuaded to think that every such discovery of close parallelism furnishes just the evidence needed for a belief of this kind—a unity which, as respecting differences, exhibits itself as a unity in variety, and not as a bare uniformity.

Nor is the task rendered easier by specialising in some select branch of Indian Philosophy, or by tackling some specific problem thereof with a specialist's knowledge and aptitude for research. In a task of this kind a specialised knowledge or training is too apt to act as a handicap rather than an asset. On account of his preoccupation with points of technical interest and the sectional point of view, the specialist is eventually driven to the position of one who cannot see the wood for the trees. A similar fate overtakes the specialist in science when he turns a philosopher. Much of the crude generalisation and wild theorizing that we come across in the philosophical world of to-day is traceable to this source. As a case in point, reference may be made to the growing invasion of Metaphysics by Physics or Mathematical Physics. Time was, when Physics had to beware of Metaphysics, but in view of the indecent haste and extravagant charity with which it has been the fashion, in some quarters of recent philosophical thinking, to court the categories of the special sciences, it is time we sounded the warning :—" Metaphysics ! beware of Physics." Such coquetting of Metaphysics with Physics conduces to the lasting benefit of neither, but ends in the sterilisation of the philosophical impulse. Dazzled by the glamour of a new discovery in the domain of the sciences—as for example, the doctrine of Relativity in Mathematical Physics—the thinkers of a particular school have not infrequently been seduced into a cosmic expansion and consequent falsification of a principle whose meaning and efficacy lie in its limited application. Like the son of Kish out in search after his father's asses and eventually founding a kingdom, the innocent time-axis, out to demonstrate its necessity over and above the already known three axes of co-ordinates, has in certain quarters acquired a foundational importance, not at all sought for but thrust upon it. To bring Metaphysics into line with Science is unquestionably a move in the right direction, but to set up, in the name of Metaphysics, absolute claims on behalf of any of the special sciences is a monstrous aberration of philosophic thinking. The

crying need of the hour is, accordingly, a 'defence of philosophic doubt' or an academic skepticism, in view of the steady advance of new-fangled categories of the special sciences threatening in the end to swamp the field of metaphysics. The enthusiasts after progress in philosophical research probably proceed upon the principle that it is the early bird that catches the worm; but what they obviously fail to reckon in their enthusiasm is that the cause of philosophical research 'they also serve who only stand and wait.' It is not too late in the day to profit by the acceptance, even in its restricted application, of the Hegelian dictum that 'the owl of Minerva takes its flight, only when the shades of night are gathering.'

Happily Indian Philosophy has never in any age fallen an easy prey to the Idol of the scientific method or of scientific specialism in the domain of philosophical thought; and a faithful presentation of Indian philosophy must see that it does not succumb to this temptation. Kindred herewith is the danger that proceeds from an intemperate passion for historical scholarship which, instead of keeping within the legitimate bounds of Indology, has invaded the sphere of Indian philosophy. In a dissertation on Indian philosophic thought mere historical, and even philological scholarship, have undoubtedly their respective use. But they are made grotesque, if they are thrust into the forefront and made to do the duty of what a philosophic interpretation of thought-types primarily stands for. In a task of this kind, handling of original texts and citation of accredited commentaries have assuredly their proper place, but a philosophic interpreter must at all costs refuse to remain in the outskirts of Indian philosophy as a mere hewer of texts and drawer of commentaries. Indeed, accumulation of texts is one thing and illumination quite another: where many are the accumulators, only a few are torch-bearers. Philosophy, as it has been truly remarked, is largely a question of proportion; and it is reassuring to note that Hegel saw things in their proper perspective when he observed that 'in thought and particularly in speculative

thought, comprehension means something quite different from understanding grammatical sense of the words alone, and also from understanding them in the region of ordinary conception only.' The writers that are lacking in this indispensable qualification of 'comprehension' or 'knowledge of the matter, about which so much ado has been made,' are to be compared, in Hegel's opinion, 'to animals which have listened to all the tones in some music, but to whose senses the unison, the harmony of their tones, has not penetrated.'

To one gifted with this innate sense of 'comprehension,' the spirit of Indian Philosophy becomes all the easier of comprehension. If, as Prof. Whitehead puts it, 'the safest general characterisation of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato,' I should like heartily to endorse the statement and take it as the very text of my discourse—subject of course to the substitution of the word '*Indian*' for European and '*Vedāntism*' for 'Plato.' Truly, that is where the heart of India beats ; and it is that devout student of Indian thought, namely, Max Müller who has, by virtue of his invaluable gift of intellectual sympathy, recorded this heartbeat in his well-known verdict that the Vedānta 'is clearly the native philosophy of India.' Indeed, if philosophy is but life brought to the focus of self-consciousness, then, there could be no more accurate characterisation of the Vedānta. His concluding reflection, that "with the Hindus, the fundamental ideas of the Vedānta have pervaded the whole of their literature, have leavened the whole of their language, and form to the present day the common property of the people at large" may further be taken as an excursus on the initial statement. Now, the phrase 'native philosophy' may, for aught we know, easily be paraphrased into the much too complacent assurance that we are all 'born Vedāntists.' If it means no more than that ideas of the Vedānta permeate and enliven the cultural atmosphere in a way in which those of other indigenous systems of thought do not, then the interpretation is clearly beyond challenge. Indeed,

it is no senseless exaggeration to say that every Hindu is suckled at the breast of the Vedāntic *ethos*, but it is just possible to gloat upon a mere possibility and thus for ever remain a suckling in the realm of mature philosophic thinking. While it is true that of all persons it is the Hindu that has in him, *ceteris paribus*, the making of a true Vedāntist, it is none the less true that a mere potentiality may be glorified into an actual possession, and thus rendered abortive. In the sphere of intellectual achievements—least of all in that of philosophic pursuits—there is no established law of inheritance whereby one can claim to be a born legatee of a traditional faith ; in fact philosophic persuasion, like freedom, can never be made a gift of, it has always to be earned.

That there has gone on steady evolution of Indian thought, culminating in the Vedānta as its *terminus ad quem*, is also the pronounced verdict of *Vijñānabhikshu*, the classical exponent of the Indian attempt at philosophical synthesis. According to *Vijñānabhikshu*, three distinct levels or grades may be distinguished in the evolution of Indian philosophical thought—the *Nyāya*, *the Sāṁkhya*, and the *Vedāntic* level of philosophical thinking. On the *Nyāya* level (*bhūmikā*) what is established, on the refutation of the *Chārvāka* doctrine of the Soul as the bye-product of Matter, is the distinctness of the individual soul from the body, the senses, and the mind. The *Sāṁkhya* level goes beyond it so far as it holds that the subject is distinct from the cosmic matter of experience and primal source of all, the *Prakṛti* as the equilibrated state of the three Reals or *Guṇas* of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. Finally emerges the level of the *Vedānta*, at the furthest limit of this process of differentiation, where it comes into full view of the 'truth' of all such differentiation in the non-difference of *Prakṛti* from the principle of subjectivity which is unitary in character—the absolute oneness of Being which is spiritual in essence. According to a more detailed scheme,[1] the systems (*Darśanas*) may be arranged in a

1 As worked out by Dr. B. N. Seal in his illuminating *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy*.

logical order, the *Nāstika*, the *heretical* or atheistic set in three divisions: *Chārvāka*, *Bauddha* and *Jaina*, ascending from a naïve Naturalism or Materialism through a critique which grew more and more subjective and negative and ending in absolute relativism (*Anekāntavāda*); and the *Āstika*, the orthodox or theistic group in three main divisions: the *Nyāya-Vaiśeshika*, the *Sāṁkhya-Pātañjala*, and the *Mīmāṁsā* (*Pūrva* and the *Uttara*, the prior and the posterior), ascending from a pluralistic Realism through a Critique of Experience (in the form of *viveka* or logical discrimination) to a Pragmatic or a Rationalistic Absolutism.

Now, it would be nothing short of mid-summer madness to suppose that the Vedāntic absolutism—the doctrine of the oneness of Spiritual being—sprang perfect into existence, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, and may be found in a full-fledged form in the Hymns of the *Ṛgveda* which, by common consent, mark the germinal beginnings of Vedāntic thought and culture. While it is true, as a matter of principle, that there is a continuous development of thought from the *Ṛgveda*, which is but Vedānta in the making, to the *Upanishads* or the *Vedānta* proper, one must not construe this principle of thought-continuity with a literalness that strikes at the very root of the notion of development. In fact, it is not possible, within the meaning of the law of all development, to have the flower along with the fruit for the simple reason that the decay of the flower is the condition of the appearance of the fruit. The attempt, on the part of those well-meaning apologists of the Vedāntic thought as a whole and in detail, to claim immutable perfection on its behalf is symptomatic of the absolutist's Absolute which, on Bradley's rendering of it, 'has no seasons, but all at once bears its leaves, fruit and blossom.' Nothing is more to the point in this regard than the dictum of the late Prof. Wallace that "all development is by 'breaks' and yet makes for continuity."

The genetic study of the Vedānta and of the Systems or *Darśanas*, in their historical affiliations, unquestionably points to

the *Ṛgveda* as their common philosophic ancestor. Although there is scarcely to be found a more sympathetic expositor of the Hymns than Max Müller, his characterisation of these as 'the babbling of child-humanity,' when read out of its context, may appear to have made no allowances for all the crudity and immaturity that must necessarily appertain to all embryonic existences in a state of gestation. Justified essentially as this estimate is, yet the discerning student of philosophy would discover in this so-called 'babbling' the primeval utterance of those truths 'which we are toiling all our lives to find.' It is no wonder, then, that the average critic in whom this gift of sympathetic understanding is conspicuous by its absence will discover in the *Ṛgveda* nothing but the symptoms of a low and degenerate type of civilisation—in which the entire gamut of animism, spiritism; ancestor-worship and the like is traversed, along with the constant concomitance of a prevailing polytheism, bringing in their train the worst form of sacerdotalism and priestly tyranny. But the fact remains that despite the child-like naïveté characterising most of the Hymns, they do, for the most part, reveal a philosophical frame of mind in 'those obstinate questionings of sense and outward things' that sooner or later press upon the mind, alike in the history of the individual and of the race. Distracted by innumerable demands on his allegiance to the gods of the Vedic pantheon, the Ṛgvedic thinker in a mood of sceptical despair has insistently harped on the strain —"*Kasmai Devāya havishā vidhema*" ? "To what God shall we offer our oblation ?" One need not be anxious for a defence of 'philosophic doubt' as expressed herein ; nor need it be construed as a 'Hymn to the Unknown God' together with the Pauline associations as found in the *Acts*. It is not that doubt which paralyses all enquiry at the start, but is, strictly speaking, a methodological doubt which, as the indispensable prelude to all inquiry, has everywhere proved so fruitful in the service of a philosophic construction. Viewed in its proper perspective, it stands at the cross-ways of two divergent trends of thought.

It heralds, on the one hand, 'the twilight of the gods' in a far more radical sense than what Nietzsche could have understood by the phrase in question, and on the other, the dawning of a new era of philosophic earnestness which at once revealed the main drift and crowning achievement of Ṛgvedic speculation. The effort at philosophic comprehension of the diversity of experience—which is typical of this celebrated Hymn—at once admits its author into the ranks of philosophic thinkers of all ages and of all climes. Take, for example, the beautiful line—"*yasya chhāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ*" or " (the being) whose shadow is immortality as well as mortality (*i.e.* deity and humanity)—which impresses as much by the elegance of its expression as by the depth of insight, and we cannot help admiring the first fruits of the effort after comprehension.

The prolific myth-making of the *Ṛgveda* has often been made a target of attack by its critics. For better or for worse, the first flutter of the new-fledged philosophic impulse on the Indian soil clothed itself in poetry of unending charm, with an abundance of myths, as the machinery just meant for the purpose, standing to the credit of a fertile imagination or creative phantasy, native to the soil. This characteristic of early Indian speculation, by no means uncommon in the history of speculative thought in other lands, attests *inter alia* the truth of Vico's dictum that 'poetry is the first operation of the human mind.' Now, no one need be apologetic for the poetic or mythical representation of philosophical doctrines as systematically carried out in the *Ṛgveda*. Even the purists among dialecticians, while labelling the myths of Plato as mere lacunæ or lapses in his otherwise rigorous logic, have yet to acknowledge that there is in all of these a rich kernel of truth concealed under what is mere myth. The relation of the two, viewed in a time-perspective may be pithily expressed by saying that the myth is but truth in the making. There is, however, no denying the fact that a poetic or mythical representation of philosophical doctrines at the present day would at once be tabooed as being a matter of

historical anachronism. Even Plato refers in the *Republic* (Bk. X) to an 'old feud between poetry and philosophy' and condones the 'noble untruth' of poetry and the imitative arts in general in so far as they tend to lead one astray from the strict pursuit of truth. The so-called 'feud' to which he refers is an interesting study in psycho-analysis. It is only an objectification of a crisis in his mental history precipitated by a growing conflict between the two fundamental tendencies of his nature. For, it is no mere exaggeration to say that Plato was primarily and temperamentally a poet, but a philosopher by profession. When, therefore, he was ordaining the exile of the poets from the ideal Republic, he did not know—such was the irony of the situation —that he was signing the warrant of his own extradition from the Ideal State. Indeed, much of the authority that attaches to Plato's pronouncements on the 'first truths' is due to the dual rôle in which he appears, and the double voice with which he speaks. It is Plato, the poet, that conceived or had the vision of the world of Ideas or archetypal Forms; it is Plato, the philosopher, that sought to justify the 'vision' with regard to the things of sensible experience. Accordingly, the poetic or mythical presentation of the Hymns of the *Ṛgveda* has nothing *prima facie* to invalidate their truth-claim.

It is not merely as a stepping-stone or prelude to what was destined to crystallize later as the Spiritualistic absolutism of Vedāntic thought, but within the frontiers of the *Ṛgveda* itself, we notice no less than three well-recognised strata or levels of speculative thought—namely, Naturalistic polytheism, Spiritualistic monotheism and Speculative or Agnostic monism. Even this tripartite division fails to do justice to Ṛgvedic speculation, and, for the matter of that, to Indian thought and culture as a whole. There may, roughly speaking, be distinguished six stages in the history of human civilisation and culture, and it is usual to reckon six stages in the development of a philosophical doctrine or thought-type, the second half recapitulating the first half on a higher plane and thus constituting what has been

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aptly called the method of spiral progress.[1] The first in the original (first) half is the Magic stage which invariably expresses itself in social instinct and postulates embodied in rituals. The second is the Myth stage in which the ingrained mythopœic activity of the race bursts forth in the form of myth, folklore, beast fables, etc. The third is the Symbol stage which evinces a growing maturity in symbolization and sublimation of myth and ritual. Now, the fourth stage in the series (which is but the reproduction of the first on a higher plane in this spiral of progress), is the stage of Dogma manifesting itself in varying degrees of conceptual abstraction—in pictorial imagination, in *vorstellung* and in creeds. The fifth is the stage of Rationalisation proper with its elaboration and perfection of the conceptual apparatus in the form of Critique and Dialectic—of *Pûrvapakṣha, Uttarapaksha,* and *Siddhānta.* The sixth and final stage in the series is the stage not of *θεωρία* merely, but of *πρᾶξις*, of *sādhanā* or realisation. Applying this formula to the famous doctrine of *Karma* and its evolution in the history of Indian Culture we have the following series. The first stage is that of *Yajña karma* as ritual drawing its inspiration from the instinct of continued personal existence or will-to-live and expressing itself in ritualistic performances for heaven (*svargaḥ*), and from the instinct of race-preservation and manifesting itself in rituals for fertilization, fecundity, or race-multiplication. The germinal beginning of this law of *Karma* makes itself felt also, in this very first stage, as certain *saṁskāras,* family and tribal customs, as sacraments and the like. The second is the stage of myth-formation which crystallizes as the myth of the double path of *prayāṇa* (outward journey) and of *punarāvṛtti* (return journey), of Heaven and Hell and the like—pointing unmistakably to what is known as the doctrine of the transmigration of souls or metempsychosis. The third stage in the evolution

1 *Vide* the illuminating notes on this point in Dr. B. N. Seal's 'Syllabus' already referred to above.

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of the law of *Karma* is that of symbolization or sublimation of *Yajñas, Tapas, Saṁskāras,* as rituals—such as we have in the different Upanishads and the Gītā. The fourth stage which marks the beginning of conceptual formulation naturally expresses itself in the Dogma of *Karma* conceived as a Law along with the entire paraphernalia of *sañchita* and *prārabdha,* accumulated and initiated, *Karma* together with the idea of a cyclical existence. The fifth stage is that of Moral causation and its dialectic revealing itself in a code of injunctions and prohibitions (*vidhinishedhau*), *niyoga* or injunction being the ground of *Karma.* It is on this stage that a rational enquiry into the relation between *karma* as Law and free will of man and *karma* and *Īśvara* or Moral Governor of the universe, is fully envisaged. The sixth and final stage in the development of the law of *Karma* is the emergence of the notion of value (*purushārtha*), intrinsic and instrumental, of *πρᾶξις* and *Sādhanā,* and of the relation of the Way of *karma* (*karmamārga*) to the *Summum Bonum* (*Parama-purushārtha*) and Redemption (*Moksha*) as a final release from the domination of the inexorable Law of *Karma.*

Reviewing the growth of *Ṛgvedic* speculation as a whole and its importance for all subsequent thought in general, and of the *Vedānta* in particular, one may justly observe that the significance of the *Ṛgveda* in the making of the *Vedānta* lies not so much in any positive contribution towards it, but in preparing the field for the reception of the *Vedānta.* Although the main lines, on which Indian thought was destined to develop hereafter, lie prefigured herein, the value of the *Ṛgveda* is to be measured by what it aspired to be and was not in actuality. It begins with that infantile wonder, and its native hue of creative phantasy, which is not, as yet, 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Later, reflective thought supervenes and seeks to introduce system and order into the reign of riotous fancy and lawless myth-making. Once criticism is aroused, the mongrel method of allegorizing is steadily on the wane until the repugnant elements in the patched-up unity break asunder and dissipate

it altogether. Before the noon-day glory of the achievements of reflective thought, the twilight of mythopœic activity does admittedly pale away into insignificance, and thus all its findings are safely relegated to a forgotten chapter in the history of human search after truth. Nevertheless the *Ṛgveda*, with all its backwardness, may truly be said to have succeeded in what it seems to have failed in: its twilight of god-making and allegorizing eagerly anticipates the dawn of a new intellectual era. Its failure, if it is to be called at all by that name, is but a triumph's evidence—an evidence of the perpetual urge of reflective thought in the eternal quest after truth. In this long and arduous pilgrimage, the truth-seeker is too apt to be deterred on the way-side by alluring allegories and myths masquerading as philosophic truths. Accordingly in the making of the Vedānta no prayer is more to the point than the one that has gone forth from the heart of *Īśāvāsyopanishad*:—"The face of truth is covered up by a shining disk; that do thou, O Sun-God, remove so that the true essence of Being may be revealed."

Now, the whole point in referring to the Vedānta as the acknowledged *terminus* or end, indicating the high-water mark of Indian philosophical thought, is to force into prominence the philosophic import of the category of End—which is but the insight that the end is not the final stage of a process of development that merely succeeds or supersedes its predecessors, but is the informing spirit of the whole, distilled, as it were, into its successive phases, all and sundry. Hence, the End in its interpretative function is as much operative at the beginning as at the *de facto* end of anything. Verily, the first shall be last and the last shall be first! This is precisely what the Aristotelian τέλος implies on a judicious rendering of it. Premising, therefore, that the Vedānta is just the focal point where a vast range of thought gathers itself up into internality and epitomises itself, we place ourselves at the πού στῶ of Indian philosophy wherefrom alone it is possible to command a synoptic view of the whole. Barring the few heretical schools, what all the other

schools of Indian philosophy unite in enforcing is the message of the autonomy of the Spirit—that spiritual freedom which is born of 'self-recognition.' To know and to be free—this has been the message of all alike; and, as the orthodox schools will add, to know in a corporate as well as individual capacity, to know in the company of seers handing on the torch of enlightenment from age to age, and to bring that corporate wisdom to a luminous personal focus. Such a knowledge alone can have a redemptive grace in itself. This is clearly the message that sits enthroned in its majestic simplicity at the heart of the *Vedānta*, and has at all times its ready appeal for those that have ears to hear. There is hardly any serious student of the Vedānta who has not felt the direct impact and edifying influence of the well-known passage in the *Iśopanishad* where the mighty seer of old, bathed in the full-orbed splendour of the life-giving message, exclaims with an invocation to the Sun as the very symbol in the world without of that greatness or sublimity which is the soul's all own: "O thou all-sustaining, solitary, all-controlling Sun, descended from the Lord of all beings, do restrain and centralise all thy streaks of light that I may behold thy blissful countenance;—forsooth, I am the very Being that abides in thee." Assuredly, this is a pregnant utterance of unique historical importance and charged with epoch-making significance for the entire history of Indian thought and culture. But evidently more is meant here than meets the ear; and it was reserved for the illustrious Śaṁkarāchāryya to rise equal to the height of this great argument and to give the exact bearings of this historic pronouncement. Quite in keeping with the underlying spirit of the utterance, Śaṁkarāchāryya has voiced in unmistakable accents what was left unvoiced, but none the less clearly suggested. He avoids, on the one hand, the aberrations of devotionalism which imports a 'feeling of absolute dependence' up to the liminal intensity of a 'creature-consciousness' and, on the other, he steers clear of egoism which, by a misplaced emphasis easily slips into the egotism that is at the farthest remove from the

attitude of worship itself. Proceeding thus he brings to light the edifying implications of the cult of spiritual worship when he sums up his comments in the forceful words : " Moreover, I do neither beg of thee in the manner of a slave " (*kiñcha, aham na tu tvāṁ bhṛtyavadyāchê*).

Cryptic and negative as it is in formulation, the statement is clearly symptomatic of a radical change in outlook. Figuring as the dividing line between the Ṛgvedic and the Upanishadic age, the change in question bespeaks a momentous influence in the history of Indian religion and culture—a spiritual Renaissance in ancient India that compares, not unfavourably with the no less significant transition from the bondage of the Leviticus unto the freedom of the Gospels. What is specially noteworthy in this spiritual awakening is that there is no more of that paralysing spectacle of the human worshipper being awed into submission—no more of coaxing and cajoling, petitioning and propitiating beings, supposed to possess benevolent as well as malevolent impulses. In place of stupefying admiration that thrives by working upon the baser instincts of man—fear of retribution and hope of reward—one has here that elevating trust in the spiritual dignity of man which is the best ministration to religious worship. 'Fear of the Lord,' as it has been truly observed, 'is the beginning of all wisdom.' But it is only the *beginning*—and neither the end nor the essence of wisdom. The cult of spiritual worship must necessarily be in a minor key where man shrinks into the comparatively insignificant position of a bare point on the circumference, bereft of the central importance he is by nature entitled to. On the contrary, a cosmic expansion of the soul of the worshipper, an identification of it with the Spirit behind this mighty frame of nature, is the surest way to kindle those higher emotions and aspirations that possess the specific flavour of worship. The atmosphere of spiritual freedom, which the Vedānta at least breathes, does not come within the range of the cheap criticism that it means no more than that there is freedom outside

the prison-house—a gospel that 'comforts while it mocks' those that lie imprisoned. It is, truly, a gospel of freedom that greets even those brows that languish behind the prison-bars, provided they would enter into a conscious participation in a birth-right that is eternally theirs. The orient light that once shone forth still shines undimmed with the passage of time that makes history; and the voice that once was heard, hushed as it is to eternal silence, still cries out from its own ashes: "Seek ye first this freedom of the spirit and then all else shall be added unto you!"

While discussing the ideal of a free man's worship in *Vedānta*, one is inevitably reminded of the nature of 'a free man's worship' as understood by Mr. Bertrand Russell. Strangely enough there is not merely verbal similarity but remarkable doctrinal affinity between the two up to a certain point, beyond which there is a complete parting of ways. Both begin by emphasising the primary need of the emancipation of intellect from 'interest' or 'desire,' its 'last prison-house.' The free man, in Mr. Russell's view, is to be freed from 'sick men's dreams,' such as rewards in heaven and the like, and thus qualified for the ministration in question. Indeed a relentless rejection of all petty private interests, and the cultivation of a temper of judicial neutrality must undoubtedly be put in the forefront as being an essential pre-requisite for a votary of truth; for, these alone have the efficacy of purifying the intellect, and predisposing it in such a way as to make it a fit recipient of truth. That is just the reason why, among other pre-requisites, the renunciation of all self-centred interests and apathy towards enjoyment of the fruits of one's actions, whether here on earth or hereafter in the life to come (*ihāmutraphala-bhogavirāgaḥ*) is demanded of the student of the *Vedānta*. By way of justifying, as it were, this initial injunction, Śaṁkarāchāryya observes to the following effect: "If men's inclinations were not regulated, establishment of truth would be impossible on account of endless diversity in their power of apprehension."

Then, again, both are firmly lodged in the 'subjective' or 'parochial' character of moral or practical life which is rooted in the distinction between good and evil, and they discover the essence of wisdom or spiritual freedom in that 'contemplative life' which, as a distinctly 'higher good than that of action' goes 'beyond good and evil.' Accordingly what Mr. Russell recommends is 'that the elimination of ethical considerations from philosophy is both scientifically necessary and—though this may seem a paradox—an ethical advance.' The Vedānta would readily acquiesce in this position but with a difference of emphasis. Although, the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* (III. i. 3) lays down that 'the wise before entering into the taintless, supreme, unitive life, leave behind them all good and evil,' the Vedānta does not subscribe to an unqualified rejection or 'elimination of ethical considerations,'—no matter if such elimination be construed an 'ethical advance.' The Vedānta does not go in for such 'advanced' views on the subject and prefers to rest in a sublimation rather than elimination—as clearly evidenced by the verdict of the *Bhagavadgītā* (XV. 15) that 'the entire practical or moral life finds its consummation or fulfilment in the theoretical.'

Now, as to their respective divergence. The freeing of the intellect from 'desire,' its 'last prison-house,' is, admittedly, a salutary prescription so far as it goes, but one has to see that it does not go too far, and end by throwing away the babe along with the bath. In carrying out this purificatory rite, one stands in danger of making a holocaust of the abiding or permanent interests of life—in a word, the values, along with the changing or ephemeral interests—and thus carrying the process beyond the saturation-point of a total indifferentism. Such is, indeed, 'a free man's worship,' which, in the phraseology of Mr. Russell, represents the typical outlook of a 'weary but unyielding Atlas' with its faith pinned to what he expresses with the force of an epigram, 'the gospel of unyielding despair.' It may have an 'austere beauty' to recommend itself; but its austerity turns

out, on closer inspection, to be mere 'sham heroism' and its beauty only a borrowed glory. There is surely no heroism in renouncing things which a man has no right to renounce; nor is there any moral grandeur about a martyrdom that is as gratuitous as it is foolhardy. Indeed, if we care to read between the lines of a 'free man's worship'—without allowing ourselves to be carried away by its insidious rhetoric—we cannot fail to detect in it a morbid passion for passionlessness, a sentimental yearning after martyrdom for its own sake, which has neither sanity nor seemliness about it. 'But if martyrdom is to be proclaimed as a gospel for man, it must be more than courageous; it must be in the best sense wise and profitable.' There is at least no justification for the sorry exhibition, and that in the name of intellectual honesty and scientific disinterestedness, of that spirit of bravado that lies on the surface of the gospel of 'unyielding despair.' There is no doubt a species of courage that is born of despair. But bravery is one thing and bravado quite another. There is, accordingly, more sanity in the counsel—"Because thou must not dream, thou needst not then despair!"

Moreover, the 'gospel of unyielding despair' is but a sad travesty of what man has, during the ages past, understood by religious faith and worship. Indeed, it is only by straining the resources of language that this phrase can be made to serve as the keynote of a free man's worship. Truly, it is neither deserving of the name of '*worship*' nor that of a '*free* man.' On the one hand the 'proud defiance' labelled on its face is at the farthest remove from the attitude of worship; on the other, a stupefying admiration for, and a craven submission to, an 'unconscious power,' trampling on our cherished ideals, give the lie direct to the spirit of 'worship,' and that of a 'free man.' In point of fact, the gospel of 'unyielding despair' is not the gospel of a 'free man,' but of a bondslave, enchained like Prometheus to the bedrock of naturalism. For, what is exactly missing here is that Promethean spark that can by a miracle, as it were, transform

the gospel of 'unyielding despair' into an evangel of elevating hope—a hope that has potency enough to re-create itself out of its own wreck. The fear of relentless matter rolling along—and, as the psycho-analyst will assert, the proud defiance is but the paralysing fear turned inside out—may faithfully reflect the scientific temper, but it is conducive neither to intellectual honesty, nor religious edification. Summarily speaking, the sense of being overwhelmed and paralysed into submission by an unconscious, albeit stupendous, power and the sense of defeatism, born of despair, negate the very spirit of worship. The free man in the republic of the *Vedānta* does not confess to an indigence of this kind. He does not appear as one craving a kind consideration, nor does he stoop to conquer. He appears as one asserting his spiritual birth-right, and that is what invests his pronouncement with an authority and importance all its own. When all is said and done, the fact remains, however, that whatever we may choose to think of its merits as a philosophical dissertation, there is no disputing the point that 'A Free Man's worship' is destined to rank, by sheer force of its 'austere beauty' and stylistic charm, if not, also, in respect of its philosophic depth or vigour, as one of the masterpieces of English literature, and, certainly, as one of the philosophical classics of our age. Passages after passages may be quoted to show the consummate artist he is, and it will be readily discovered that their appeal lies not so much in any lure of intellectualism, but in the æsthetic effect produced by words of chiselled beauty and vivid imagery. While, therefore, we feel unconvinced by his logic, Mr. Russell impresses us with a peculiar persuasiveness that defies analysis into reasons.

Now, as the critic will probably interpose here and make the pertinent enquiry, how does all this tall talk about spiritual freedom square with the ingrained authoritarianism of Indian philosophy? Does not the dogmatism, inherent in the inveterate habit of appealing to the *Śruti*, which has its necessary counterpart in the strait-jacket method of clothing itself in the age-long

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Sūtras, suppress free thinking and thus sound the death-knell of all philosophy? Is not this faith in dogmas an unconditional return to Authority which runs counter to the spirit of the times, to the very spirit of modernism in thought and culture—modern philosophy itself being 'Protestantism in the sphere of the thinking spirit, the story of a philosophic pilgrim's progress from Authority to Freedom? Admittedly, there is much force in this criticism. But we so often forget that there are always two sides to a question. It is undeniable that knowledge or truth in the keeping of Authority proves an initial handicap for the philosophic inquiries. For when truth hardens into tradition, it stifles the very life-breath of the free spirit of inquiry which alone is the inspirer of all philosophy. A tradition may be true; but only a living insight can be philosophical. Thus the very essence of philosophy is a studied unconcern for all kinds of tradition so far as they are merely traditional. Indeed, nowhere is the maxim 'follow precedents' treated with scant courtesy as in the realm of philosophic thinking, so that it appears as if for every such thinker there is only a foreground and no background. Well might the philosophers claim on this count precedence over the scientists and historians and say to them: "With you 'follow precedents' is the working motto; while ours is the task to create and not merely to follow precedents." Accordingly, the Authority that acts as a deadweight and impedes the free movement of thought, the Authority that predisposes and proselytises the intellect of man and thus prejudges the philosophical issue, spells the very death of the life of free thinking. It becomes all the more sinister and dangerous when it comes to be invested with a glamour of sanctity as being the ancient depositary of all wisdom or truth, and before that august Presence man with his questioning impertinence is browbeaten into submission. Here Authority comes to acquire an honorific sense, charged with emotional value, and demands allegiance not because it is old or traditional but because of its possessing superlative or transcendent merits.

On the other hand, we cannot afford to forget or minimise the importance of Authority or of dogmas in the economy of our spiritual life. Surely, Authority, as the custodian of dogmas that prescribe the limits beyond which the private judgment and mysticism of man may not go astray, is an invaluable asset for humanity. What blurs our vision of this home-truth is the haze of emotional hypnosis induced by the witchcraft of the magic phrase 'This Freedom!'—the craze of the modernist. But freedom from what?—one may pertinently enquire. Not surely an 'unchartered freedom' to drift endlessly which leads nowhere and 'tires' at the end. Humanly speaking, such a freedom cannot be sought for its own sake. Here, as elsewhere, freedom has to be saddled with safeguards so that it may be pressed into the service of philosophic thinking. That is why unbridled reasoning (*niraṁkuśatarkaḥ*), or argumentation for the sake of argumentation—wherein the license of free thinking so often terminates - has never found favour with the Indian mind; and, as a matter of fact, it has been placed by Śaṁkarāchāryya under a perpetual ban. For, in India at least, philosophical thought has never been an intellectual pastime merely, cut off from the moorings of all other values of life. This is a fact that has to be accepted as such, and the judgment in question should not be surreptitiously converted into a judgment *upon* fact.

The much-needed adjustment of the respective rights of Authority and Free thinking, of Dogma and Criticism, or of Faith and Reason, has been effected, once for all, in the domain of Indian Philosophy. Here, again, Śaṁkara appears in his representative capacity. Assuming at the very start that even ratiocination or dialectic is recognised by us so far as it is ancillary to *Śruti* or revealed knowledge (*Śrutyaiva cha sahāyatvena tarkasyāpyabhyupetatvāt*), he proceeds to lay down that 'it is only such dialectic or reasoning as is subservient to the *Śruti* that is accepted here, as being contributory to experience' (*Śrutyanugṛhīta evà hyatra tarko'nubhavāṅgatvenāśrīyatè*). Thus while it is true 'that Śaṁkara took up a fairly submissive

attitude in regard to the authority of the Upanishad texts,' [1] his 'subjection to authority is not necessarily inimical to philosophical spirit' and the much too common imputation of unphilosophical authoritarianism stands redeemed in the recognition of what has been accurately described the 'internalizing of authority.' [2] This is evident from the frequent insistence on Śaṁkara's part on *anubhava* or *anubhûti*, that is, experienee in its integrity which personalises the impersonal certitude of *Śruti* (*Anubhavāvasānam cha Brahmavijñanam*). Nothing short of the certitude of personal experience will meet the requirements of the situation. As it has been rightly observed, 'the human mind is so constituted that only intrinsic evidence necessarily compels assent. No matter how great the authority of the witness, assent is impossible unless the truth in question is luminous to us, is felt as such by us.' [3] Accordingly, Authority ostensibly imposing a bond does not, after all, bind, for the fetters that are thus forged are of our own making, and the undoing of these is also ours. Likewise, one can subscribe to dogmas without being a dogmatist. A dogma works not by mechanical dictation but by illuminating inspiration—not by annexing or annulling the rights of private judgment or mysticism but by giving ungrudging recognition to these. Dogma is thus experience in the making, and faith or belief which has an air of dogmatism, to begin with, is but reason cultivating itself. Thus is also struck a balance between Dogmatism and Criticism, which have so far appeared in irreconcilable antithesis. Rooted as he was in inflexible orthodoxy, Śaṁkara had yet the sufficiency to assign to reason its proper rank and function even in the matter of attaining unto the highest bliss of mankind. So runs his verdict that 'a man who somehow espouses a creed without prior discussion or critical reflection is dispossessed of beatitude and incurs evil.' (*tatrāvichāryyā yat kiñchit pratipadyamāno*

[1] W. S. Urquhart, *The Vedānta and Modern Thought*, p. 75.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 84. [3] Coffey, *Epistemology*, Vol. II.

niḥśreyasāt pratihanyetānarthañcheyāt). So far as Śaṁkara is concerned, it is a pronouncement which is hardly ever given the prominence it deserves in respect of a foundational importance attaching to it. This is typically illustrative of the spirit of Hindu orthodoxy which, though depending in the end upon a provisional faith, employs a faith that *enquires*. This is clearly indicated by the function and importance of *jijñāsā* or critical inquiry in the making of Indian philosophy. Thinking always proceeds by questioning experience, and unless there be in evidence this questioning spirit or *jijñāsā*, the search after truth becomes an impossibility. Now, what is it exactly that this *jijñāsā* stands for? By *jijñāsā* the author of the *sútra* "*Athāto Brahmajijñāsā*" suggests, as the *Bhāmati* declares, a 'doubt' and a 'value' that is an object of our quest (*jijñāsayā sandehaprayojane súchayati*). Thus the enquiry (*jijñāsā*) is the *ratio cognoscendi* of doubt, while doubt is the *ratio essendi* of enquiry (*jijñāsā tu saṁśayasya kāryyamiti svakāraṇam súchayati*). It is this very doubt, finally, that gives the impulse to philosophic inquiry (*saṁsayaścha mīmāṁsārambhaṁ prayojayati*).

The 'steel frame' of the *sútra*, so the critic will further contend, serves as the natural embodiment of the spirit of Indian philosophy, which is largely under the controlling lead of Authority; and the natural affinity that is noticeable in this regard argues a pre-established harmony between the two. Now, the *sútra* has been defined as 'a short aphorism of minimum possible words, of unambiguous meaning, of the nature of epitome, possessing omniformity, unbroken continuity and flawlessness.' "The *sútra* is so called," observes *Vāchaspati*, "because of its multivocal character." It is exactly here that lie at once the strength and weakness of the *sútras*. The extreme terseness of the *sútras* which spells their congenital weakness has its own historic justification. In the absence of present-day printing facilities, the entire mnemonic (*i.e.*, *sútra*) literature that had to be improvised could not but invoke a rigidly compact form

despite the risk of obscurity and ambiguity. The same enforced necessity of abbreviation that engenders this anæmic helpless state of the *sûtras*, invents a remedy in the prescript of periodical infusion of new blood from concrete flesh-and-blood existences of commentaries and scholia. Thus embodied and vitalized the *sûtras* prove to be a tower of strength and fountainhead of inspiration for the commentaries with which they appear in constant conjunction—by providing a mariner's compass to the individual commentators who might otherwise navigate in an unchartered sea without being ever brought to definite moorings. Hence it is not merely from an historic necessity that the *sûtras* came into being, but the recognition of their need proceeds from a principle. They are mainly designed to arrest the rampant growth of unfettered free thinking that leads nowhere, at least, not to the establishment or discovery of truth. Thus the *sûtra* form has the effect of pruning away the rapid accretion of rival commentaries and expositions, destitute of a survival-value. The temperamental bias of the Indian mind against chronicling or conserving historical data or individual peculiarities explains this natural predilection for the *sûtra* form. In a wider reference the same tendency expresses itself in the instinctive preference not for personal, but corporate, immortality.

The *sûtras*, accordingly, are conservative—illustrating in a limited manner what we understand by 'conservation of values.' 'So careful of the type' the *sûtra* seems, 'so careless of the single life.' It is this very conservatism that has ensured the historic continuity and perpetuity of the doctrines of a particular school in defiance of the spoil of ages. "For the Western philosopher," as writes[1] Dr. Urquhart with the added authority of one representing Western philosophy, "it is true that our little systems have their day and cease to be" whereas "in the Vedānta, as well as in other Indian philosophies, we may notice

[1] *The Vedānta and Modern Thought*, p. 9.

a remarkable unity of development more closely knit than in Western philosophy." Indeed, the *élan vital* of Indian thought has from time immemorial carried forward the undying past into the living present which it interpenetrates, and thus, pressing on the frontiers of the unknown, created fresh channels of thought. Viewed thus, the *sûtra* form stands close to the formula of 'creative evolution.' That seems to be also the drift of Prof. Rādhākrishnan's suggestive phrase—'the constructive conservatism of Indian thought.' This innate conservatism of Indian thought, with its retrospective outlook towards antecedent conditions, does not, however, land us in sheer emptiness. The *sûtra* does not leave us, in the end, with a barren, abstract, colourless universal that rides roughshod over the particular. It is the universal in the particular and the particular as embosomed in the universal,—or to use the oft-quoted phrase 'the concrete universal'—that is not merely the 'secret' of Hegel, but the 'open conspiracy' of the Real. So does the *sûtra* justify its essential character as *viśvatomukham* emulating, in capacity and function, a myriad-minded personality. Furthermore, it is in reference to the *sûtras* in their constant conjunction with *bhāshyas* or commentaries, that Indian thinkers have achieved a much-needed solution of the standing conflict between the timeless or unhistorical and the temporal or historical character of truths. If the vocation of the philosopher is to be a 'spectator of all time and all existence,' he must have the eye to discern in time 'the moving image of eternity.' This clearly reveals an attempt to take time seriously, and at the same time not to lose touch with eternity. If truths 'wake to perish never,' neither antiquity nor modernity can either add to, or detract from the validity of these. Mr. Bertrand Russell's dictum that the recognition of 'the unimportance of time is the one gateway of wisdom' surely has its force in this regard. What the *sûtras*, finally, seek to emphasize is just this interplay of timelessness as well as historicity of truths—this dance of eternity before the footlights of time—and the guarantee that all our temporal

strivings after truth survive in the *sûtra* 'when eternity affirms the conception of an hour.'

In assessing the spirit of Indian Philosophy at the thought-exchange of the world, one must see that it does not undervalue its own thought-currency in order to secure an international credit. Metaphors apart, the individuality of Indian philosophy is a priceless legacy which must be maintained in its integrity. It is simply its demand to be spiritual or spiritually free. It may or may not be in tune with the spirit of modernism or of antiquity, but it is there and must make itself heard across the centuries. In the spiritual economy of the universe there can be no meaningless duplication of functions. It is because and so far as East is East, and also West is West that they can and must meet to their reciprocal advantage at the philosophical exchange. No one knows what cross-fertilisation may mean in the world of thought. It has been said that the Ancient (Greek) philosophy is thoroughly national, the Mediaeval is un-national or cosmopolitan through and through, while Modern philosophy is international in outlook. "The roots of modern philosophy," as writes one European historian of philosophy, "are sunk deep in the fruitful soil of nationality, while the top of the tree spreads itself far beyond national limitations. It is national and cosmopolitan together; it is international as the common property of the various peoples which exchange their philosophical gifts through an active commerce of ideas." Nothing could be a more accurate transcription of the cult of internationalism that has its roots struck deep in the soil of nationality. Ah, there is the rub! Mischief, they say, always lies about the root. Nor is the root a faithful index of the thing in question. "By their *fruits* ye shall know" and not by their *roots*. If, however, we refuse to abide by this *a priori* injunction, let us have the courage of facing facts, fair and square. An International outlook is the cry of many, but the prize of the few. It remains a pious hope until and unless the making of the international mind is an accomplished fact. The method

of working it out from the roots upwards has been tried and found wanting; why not try the other—namely, of working from above downwards ? That is why the Upanishadic sage, with unerring prophetic vision, declares that this ancient holy fig tree (symbolising the Infinite and the Eternal, the *Bhûmā*) has its roots in heaven and its branches spreading downwards (*Urdhvamûlo'vākśākha esho'śvatthaḥ sanātanaḥ*). This is, however, no mere dream of some future possibility, of some ' far-off divine event,' no mere vague aspiration of the Futurist but is verily the everlasting Real, dwelling in us 'nearer than our hands and feet,' as ' the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls.' It is easy to deride the notion and take to the blunt Johnsonian method of refuting an ideal by kicking against it. If, in short, it is contended that such a vision of the Infinite in the finite is too good to be true, the *Vedāntist* at least will meet that contingency by saying that the vision is too good *not* to be true. It is no mere remote theological mystery but, God be thanked, it is interwoven with the very texture of our everyday experience. Accordingly, the Vedāntist starts on his career with *Brahmajijñāsā*, enquiry into *Brahman* as the supreme good of man, sustains our interest therein with the perpetual reminder that it is the *Bhûmā* that alone is to be enquired into (*Bhûmātveva vijijñāsitavyaḥ*), and closes on the high-pitched key :—" Do thou enquire into that. Verily that is Brahman." (*Tadvijijñāsasva tad Brahmeti*).

To the pragmatist mentality such a high-strung faith will hardly make any appeal ; it will confess to a still lingering scruple as to its workability on the weekdays of ' ordinary thought ' despite its usefulness on the Sundays of ' speculation.' It is neither the place nor the occasion to attempt a detailed examination of the pragmatist creed, but what one should like to point out, by way of criticism of the incorrigible pragmatic method of rule-and-compass, is its insufficiency in determining the truth-claim of a philosophical doctrine. In the region of metaphysics—which is, even on the realistic

hypothesis, an empirical study of the non-empirical—there could be found no better guide than the precept :

> " Not on the vulgar mass
> Called ' work ' must sentence pass."

If we are persuaded to believe that " 'tis not what man *does* which exalts him, but what man *would do*," it applies with all the greater force to the case of a metaphysical creed.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

THE LIGHT-HOUSE KEEPER

Spend, spend thy fury spend, O blustering Sea,
Waste, waste, waste on my rockbound fortress strong,
Safe in my ocean Home I laugh at thee
For unheld natures canst not last too long.

Mount, mount and splash the rending welkin's cheek
That snaps its threatenings thyself to devour
And thy unruly craze to curb doth seek,
But I am safe within my ocean Tower.

Go there is room enough to lose thy rage,
To set in gloss thy tossing, unkempt mane,
Thy knitted, frothy brow to assuage;
Go rule thy restless self thou boundless Main.

Now has the guiding Eye its light withdrawn,
And frighted noises bellow urgently;
Ah! list the howling blast play ravage on
The billowy bosom of the savage Sea.

Perchance some simple Ship of goodly souls
Doth innocently seek a watery grave,
Undoubtful that all treacherously rolls
The Deep; her dark fate if I might I'll save.

I'll search the jealous Blue with danger beams
And pick its lamentations for a sound
Retreat; and with my apish sun's red gleams
The sail shall ride her knots though tempest bound.

How many vessels has my mandate turned
From such a doom, when irrate Nature drowned
This danger in her tears, her evil spurned
She tore my roots for spite, and failing, frowned.

Then split thy snorting rage, O wild, wild Sea,
I'll warn the merchant of his hidden plight;
Be spendthrift of thy hate, O riotous Sea,
For I am safe within my Castle Might.

JOHN J. PINTO

THE INLAND FISHERIES OF BENGAL

An Aspect of the Fish Problem in India.

To agriculture the Government of India have devoted considerable attention, but the related subject of Fisheries has been almost entirely neglected. So neglected that the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was " struck with the comparative failure to develop the fisheries of the country as a source of food."

The Commission dealt, however, with the fisheries only from the viewpoint of the nutrition of the cultivators, researches on which it considered " to be of first-rate importance to the improvement of Indian agriculture, as the problems investigated so closely affect the efficiency and prosperity of the cultivators....." On fish as an element in the agriculturist's diet, which generally excludes meat, the Commission expressed the opinion that: " Improvement in the cultivator's diet holds out such promise of improvement in his general health and the addition of fish to his diet impresses us as being so much the most promising way of preserving it over large areas of the country that we are more than justified....." in making very general recommendations for the improvement of the fisheries of the country. It need hardly be added that an adequate fish supply is also required by the urban population, not only because of its undisputed nutritional value, but because it assists that dietical variety which modern standards of living demand.

In spite of the considerations, however, no *co-ordinated* effort has yet been made to exploit the enormous fish-resources of the country. Local Governments have from time to time considered the fish-problems in their respective provinces, but their enquiries have been usually sporadic and narrow; and, with the exception of the Madras presidency, no Province has a really

efficient fisheries department at present. Bengal, the premier province, has no fisheries department at all! Yet its inland fisheries are not excelled, either in area or potentiality, by any other similar fisheries outside America and Canada, and it is not surprising that the Agricultural Commission regarded their development as "one of the most urgent measures of rural amelioration," and, it may be added, of national progress. A brief general survey of the fish problem in Bengal may therefore be of value.

The inland fisheries of Bengal cover an area of not less than 8,000 square miles in dry season. The most important fisheries in the province are in the Sundarbans—a vast tract of over 5,700 square miles of forest, swamp, estuaries, islands, and rivers, communicating with each other by means of small channels. Though practically unexploited, this area is remarkable for the abundance and excellence of its fish. In 1914, Mr. Southwell estimated that the Sundarbans fishermen, inspite of unseaworthy boats and lack of transport facilities, actually exported in the previous year an average of approximately 4½ tons of fish (including dried fish) per day, while at that time the best English trawlers working in good waters only averaged a daily catch of about two tons. Mr. Southwell accordingly estimated the minimum average annual yield at about 7,339 tons, but there can be no doubt that this is an under-estimate even under present conditions, while proper development of the Sundarbans fisheries would result in the annual yield being increased beyond calculation at the present moment.

Next in importance is the fish supply afforded by *tanks*, for every good Hindu feels it his duty to provide a tank in his village. The culture of fish in such tanks is extensive, but unsystematic and unscientific. It is also much affected by the monsoons when large quantities of fish may escape.

The *jheel* fisheries are also extensive, but are dwindling in importance, because these *jheels* are being rapidly reclaimed for cultivation. Moreover, they are generally overfished and are

often out of the way, some of the best *jheel* fisheries, for example, being found in the Khulna and Jessore districts, which present many difficulties in the way of adequate transport.

The *canal* and *paddy fields* fisheries are unimportant, the former because they are cleaned out annually, the latter because they are dependent on the monsoons, when the floods cause the escape from the rivers into the paddy fields of fish eggs and fry, which perish as the water recedes. The food fishes of these areas should, therefore, be transferred to the rivers.

The *foreshore* fisheries of Bengal have been almost entirely neglected, though there is an anaemic industry at Balasore. How neglected they are the statistics for 1912—13 clearly prove. During this period only about 83 tons of fish were imported into Calcutta, while Puri, which is an equally good fishing district in the vicinity, yielded less than two tons.

Some Important Food Fishes of Bengal.

The food fishes of Bengal were dealt with by Sir K. G. Gupta in his first report, and it is not necessary to mention more than a few of important food fishes, the supply of which can be increased by research, propaganda, legislation and properly capitalised industry.

The most popular among the purely fresh-water fishes are those belonging to the carp-family (Cyprinidae), especially the *Rohu* (*Labeo rohita*), *Katla* (*Catla buchanani*), *Mrigal* (*Cirrhina mrigala*) and *Calbasu* (*Labeo calbasu*). These fishes are found in our rivers, and flourish in still-water areas, where they attain a considerable size, the *Katla* even attaining a weight of 26 lbs. and more in five years. The growth rate is, therefore, very rapid (rarely less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per annum) and this, together with the fact that carp-eggs and fry can be easily and chiefly obtained, makes carpiculture a sound financial undertaking. These advantages, however, have not led to carpiculture in Bengal on a scientific and productive basis.

The life-history of these carps causes the species to sustain very heavy natural losses. They spawn at the commencement of the rains, and their buoyant eggs are carried into the paddy fields and similar places, with the destructive results to which I have already alluded. Large numbers of eggs are also swept seawards by the current, especially in the case of fish spawning near the estuaries. When the natural losses are so heavy, protection becomes doubly necessary, and in this case may be effected by forbidding the capture of these carps in the months of May and June, when they are in the gravid state. Another point which carpiculturists may note is that, though eggs are very much cheaper than fry, it is much more economical to buy fry for cultural purposes, as carp-eggs are the favourite food of certain voracious fishes, and very often batches of so-called carp-eggs are heavily contaminated with the eggs of these enemies.

A large number of other purely freshwater fishes is consumed in Bengal, but these are favoured mostly by the poorer people. Apart from the other carps, these species belong mostly to the snake-headed fishes (Ophiocephalidae) and the Cat-fishes (Siluridae), such as the Sol (*Ophiocephalus striatus*) and the *Singi* (*Saccobranchus fossilis*). The famous *Koi* or Climbing Perch (*Anabas scandens*) has achieved its reputation not only because it is considered very nourishing, especially for invalids, but because the structural peculiarities of its respiratory system enable it to live out of the water for long periods, and even to travel considerable distances over dry land.

Coming to the food fishes which live both in fresh and brackish water, we find that most of the species belong to the Cat-fish family, such as the *Boal* (*Wallago attu*) the *Aor* (*Macrones aor*), the *Tengra* (*Macrones vittatus*) and the *Silond* (*Silondia gangetica*). The most famous of this class of fishes is, however, the anadromous *Hilsa* or Indian Shad (*Hilsa ilisha*). Its migrations begin in the monsoons, spawning occurring mainly in September and October, after which the fish return to the

sea. Unlike the carps, the life-history is not adversely influenced by natural conditions, as the eggs are not buoyant, hatch in about nine days, and are seldom, if ever, deposited more than six hundred miles from the sea. They are, therefore, rapidly carried along by the current and generally reach the sea, or at least the lower part of the estuaries, before hatching, thus enabling the fry to develop in their natural habitat. For these reasons, Mr. Southwell believed that legislation for the protection of *Hilsa* was unnecessary, but Sir K. G. Gupta and Dr. Baini Prasad, the last scientific Director of Fisheries in Bengal, both believed protection to be necessary, for there is evidence that the supplies of *Hilsa* are declining, and we ought to take a lesson from the United States where in 1879 the Shad was nearly exterminated.

I have said that natural conditions favour the development of the Indian Shad, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that it is *only of good flavour during the spawning season* (July to October), the returning " spent " fish being of little account for the table. Yet they are caught in large numbers while ascending and it is this which Sir K. G. Gupta wished to prohibit. He, therefore, recommended a close season between November and February, and pointed out that the Hindu religion prohibits the eating of *Hilsa* between the last day of the Durga Puja and the Sripanchami-day—practically the same period. Legislation alone will not, however, increase our supplies of this excellent fish, though it will materially protect it from possible extermination. Co-ordinated research is also necessary.

Of the estuarine fishes of Bengal little need be said. They include some of the finest marine food-fishes known to us, such as the renowned *Bhekti* (*Lates calcarifer*) and the *Topsi* or Mango-fish (*Polynemus paradisseus*). The well-known "Bombay Duck" (*Harpedon nehereus*), which gets its unforgettable aroma from the presence of a resinous sap known as 'asafoctida,' is also common in our estuaries, especially near the Sandheads. Colonel A. Alcock, F.R.S., the eminent marine biologist,

rightly believed that the *Bhekti* fishery alone would pay handsomely, and when it is remembered that five other sea-perches related to the *Bhekti*, all of which are good eating and furnish first class isinglass, are found in the estuarine waters of the Bay of Bengal, the industrial possibilities of the Sundarbans will be better appreciated. The Sundarbans also afford many other delicately flavoured fish, such as the pomfrets and mullets, while large numbers of other fish, such as species of *Sillago*, which Col. Alcock regards as "akin to good whiting," and soles, flounders, cat-fishes, herrings, ribbon-fish, eels, sharks and rays are also to be found. All these fish are of commercial value, either as food or for the products, such as isinglass, oil and skins, which they yield. And besides the fisheries proper there are the crabs, prawns, and edible molluscs, which are so common in our estuarine waters. The Sundarbans is indeed a gold-mine awaiting intelligent exploitation.

The Fish Requirements of Bengal.

We have seen from the above remarks how extensive are the potential fish resources of Bengal, both in variety and quantity. The inland fisheries of the province represent, moreover, the sources of its major fish-supply, yet this supply is entirely inadequate. In 1908, Sir K. G. Gupta estimated that 40 millions, or not less than 80%, of the population of Bengal are fish-eaters, and the 1921 Census Reports show that much the same estimate would hold good for to-day. Calculating the required daily consumption of fish per head per diem at 4 ounces this investigator found that the annual consumption per head per annum would be one maund or about eighty lbs. The total annual fish-requirements of the province would, therefore be nearly one and a half million tons.

How inadequate the supply is the imports of fish into Calcutta indirectly show. In 1912-13, the total imports only provided ·26 (27·45%) of the actual requirements of the

900,000 people in Calcutta, 720,000 of which, on the basis of Sir K. G. Gupta's calculations, would be fish-eaters. In 1922-23, the total imports to Calcutta had increased to 15,970 tons, representing roughly ·50 of the requirements of the fish-eating population of the city. These figures are, of course, based on rather arbitrary calculations, but they nevertheless show how considerably the average demand exceeds the average supply. Yet the richness of Bengal as a fish-producing area should enable it to do more than completely meet its own demands, and if the valuable sea-fisheries were also properly developed it would even eventually be in a position to export fish on a really profitable scale.

The Causes of the "Fish Problem."

It will be obvious from what has been said above that the causes of the inadequate fish-supply of Bengal are directly traceable to the destructive and incompetent methods and ignorance of the poverty-stricken fishermen, most of whom are in the hands of profiteering middlemen, and to the lack of proper transport facilities. This state of affairs must naturally be largely attributed to official negligence, for with an efficient fisheries department, striving to improve the fish-supply by sound co-ordinated research and by educating and improving the lot of the fishermen, working with the aid of a far-seeing Government and effective legislation, our fish supply would soon be materially increased. An adipose fishery board and sporadic attempts to break up the present fish-rings would not do more than ameliorate the present condition to some extent. It may be said, of course, that climatic conditions are against the organised development of our inland fisheries, as most marketable fish breed during the rains, when the water area is more than doubled and myriads of eggs and fry are carried away from their natural habitat only to perish when the water recedes. Much of the damage caused thus will, however,

be avoided by catching the eggs and fry and transferring them to breeding tanks, or putting them back in the rivers.

It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss the fishing methods in use in Bengal. The reader who is interested in the details is referred to Sir K. G. Gupta's Reports. It will suffice to say here that fishing operations in the province are casual and unscientific, the opportunism of the fishermen causing them to destroy their own future prospects by intensive fishing over small and productive areas, until their stocks are almost completely depleted. The wholesale destruction of eggs and fry for the sake of the inconsequential amount per 1000 which they fetch is so common among the fishermen that urgent educative and legislative action is necessary if the better food-fishes of Bengal are not to be almost completely destroyed. This destruction is particularly rampant in the smaller rivers and *nalas* which, when the floods are over, are cut off from the main rivers by means of fixed engines, thus preventing the return of the fry to their original habitats. They are then caught with nets of very fine mesh, and the damage done has to be seen to be believed. And where the *nalas* are large they are partitioned into smaller areas by means of dams to facilitate the annihilation.

How little regard the average fisherman has for the future is even better proved (for here there is no financial gain) by the fact that in the Chilka Lake they, together with the other lower class inhabitants of the shores, collect the spawn and eggs that float near the edges and eat them as an additional dainty. The loss of fish-life occasioned by this practice is incalculable. Sir K. G. Gupta drew attention to this fact, and pressed for legislation prohibiting it, in 1908. But fourteen years later I remember that I found it common in the Lake area and I have no doubt that it is still so.

Equally important as reasons for our inadequate and expensive fish-supply are the methods of acquiring fishing-rights and of the disposal and despatch of their catches available to

the fishermen. In the main rivers the fishing rights belong to zemindars or to the Government, who lease their rights (for trifling sums in the case of Government), which are again re-leased in small lots by the lessee at excessive prices, thus immediately raising the cost of fish. Moreover, the lessees are seldom interested in anything more than the collection of their rents, and have little regard for the evils of over-fishing or the economic condition of the fishermen.

The middleman is the next link in a vicious chain, and an extremely important one even if his influence has been somewhat exaggerated. There are many such middlemen between the fishermen and the consumer, but the principal ones are the salesmen and the *Nikari*, who collects the fish and forwards them to the salesmen, and has extensive control wherever there are important fisheries. Usually in debt, the unfortunate fishermen are incapable of freeing themselves from the hands of the *Nikaris*, and the results of this system are that by the time the fish reach the consumer its price is several times (Mr. Southwell estimates it at six or seven times but it is probably more) that at which the fishermen sold it.

The next important factor which contributes to our inadequate fish-supply is the lack of proper transport facilities. No care is taken to prevent rotting, for ice is not used, either because it is too expensive or not available, heavy losses being occasioned in this way as long distances have to be traversed. The lot of the fish exporter is also made more unhappy by the difficulties put in his way, and the lack of courtesy and consideration said to be extended to him by the railway officials. I make this statement on the authority of Mr. Southwell who charges the railway officials with extorting heavy sums from the exporters, and remarks that this practice should be strictly and heavily punished. Conditions have improved, however, since Mr. Southwell wrote.

The last inimical factor with which we have to deal is inadequate and ineffective legislation and control. The Fishery

Act IV of 1897 could be applied to Bengal, but Mr. Southwell says, "It is an unfortunate fact that no operative fishery laws exist in Bengal." With this aspect of the matter we will deal later.

Suggested Methods of improving Bengal's Fish Supply.

The main lines along which our fish supply could be increased and improved would be the education of the fishermen, extension of financial support to them, better transport facilities, and effective legislation, which will not only control the fishermen but protect their interests.

The education of the fishermen is a matter for a competent fisheries department with an energetic, sympathetic and capable propaganda staff. The fishermen must be taught the folly of destructive fishing methods, even if such methods result in immediate gain, and the value of co-operative effort. Fishermen's co-operative societies must be started and encouraged by financial aid from Government. A real effort must be made to free the fishermen from the clutches of the middlemen, and the grafting tactics of transporters, for with increased prosperity the fishermen would themselves appreciate the value of modern methods and work more intelligently in consequence. It is desirable that the lessees should work their lots themselves where the fishermen do not run their sub-lots on a co-operative basis, and capital should be interested in the formation of fishing companies. A start has already been made by private companies and Co-operative Societies in Bengal, but they need greater encouragement.

As the Sundarbans fisheries are the most important in Bengal, their improvement may be considered in some detail. Apart from the considerations mentioned above this would lie in the provision of better transport facilities by the Government and the Railways. In 1914, Mr. Southwell estimated that a good start could be made for an initial outlay of Rs. 88,000, which would provide 75-foot launches to ply in the vicinity of

Matla and Khulna—the chief collecting stations—and two ice plants at these stations. He believed that the launches would be sufficient to carry the fish to the railheads and thence to Calcutta. The working cost of the launches and ice-plants would be less than one-third of the proceeds of the sale of the fish per annum, and would greatly facilitate the despatch of fish in a healthy condition. Better railway facilities are also urgently required. Special fish-coaches with a cooling plant should be provided, as ice-packing is at best an expensive and inconvenient method. The increased transport would soon repay the capital outlay on such coaches, and, as the railways are public utility services, public health and convenience should be their first consideration. On the credit side it must be said of the Indian railways that they provide transport facilities at most of the bigger fishing centres, at rates comparatively cheaper than those obtainable in England, but a further decrease in the rates is not only desirable but may be regarded as a sound economic proposition.

The Need for Efficient Legislation.

Fisheries legislation in Bengal should follow the general principles of (*a*) *Directly constructive legislation,* such as the reservation of special areas and the provision of fishways and passes over dams and weirs; (*b*) *Fish-protection legislation,* such as the determination of close seasons, the minimum size limit at which specified kinds of fish may be sold, and the nets which are permissible, the prohibiting of the taking of spawn and fry without special permission (which should only be granted for breeding purposes), the forbidding of obstructions to the ascent of fish to their spawning grounds, and the prevention of injurious influences affecting fish life, such as the pollution of rivers; (*c*) *Fishermen-control legislation,* such as the issue of conditional licenses, leases and permits, abuse of which is strictly punished. Legislation for the control of fish products belongs properly to trade and commercial legislation.

In Bengal, there is little or no operative legislation, though in the Punjab and other places in India, fisheries Acts providing for most of the principles of fishery legislation are in force, though few rules, if any, have been made under these Acts. In this province, comprehensive fishery legislation may not be immediately possible, and in fact any sort of legislation may meet with opposition, as Mr. Ahmed's experience in 1910 proves. He endeavoured to deal with the construction of fixed engines, to fix the minimum mesh of nets at three inches, and the size at which *Rohu*, *Katla*, and *Mrigal* may be sold at ten inches, but was unsuccessful. There seems to be no reason, however, why such legislation should not be possible, even when the peculiar social fabric of the country is taken into consideration. "There is clearly room (said the Agricultural Commission) for further development in conservancy work along these lines in all provinces."

Detailed fishery legislation depends, of course, upon sound scientific knowledge, but we know enough at present to prohibit, for example, the capture of carps during the months of May and June, and to forbid the sale of the four principal species below a specified size. In the case of the Indian Shad we also know that a close season between November and January should be declared.

It should not be difficult, with the co-operation and sympathy of the zamindars, not only to administer such laws, but to begin legislation to control the fisherman. All laws should be binding on the lessees where the lands belong to Government, and should also be applicable to private waters where such waters communicate with public waters. A system of simple fishing licenses should also be started. The revenue therefore would contribute most of the cost of a fisheries department, as experience in other provinces proves. In Japan, licenses are very elaborate and provide an enormous revenue.

It is essential, however, that all laws should be fair, that they should be justly administered, and that all possibilities of

abuse in their administration by subordinate officials should be minimised. This is not done everywhere. In the Punjab, for instance, section 6 (1) of the Fisheries Act provides that "*Any police officer*, or other person specially empowered by the local Government in this behalf, may *without a warrant* arrest any person committing *in his view* a breach of any rule made under section 3 or any prohibition notified under section 4" (*Italics mine.*) An amendment states that "no police officer below the rank of Sub-Inspector shall be so empowered," but in any case the possibilities of persecution and extortion under this section may be readily imagined. Fisheries administration is a matter for trained fisheries officials, not ignorant policeman, and there can be no doubt that the powers of subordinate police and customs officials should be restricted. In Bengal, no such provisos as that found in the Punjab Act should be tolerated.

Lastly, the rights of the fisherman should in every way be safeguarded. They should at all times have the right of appeal to the authorities against punishments, and if still aggrieved should be in a position to file a suit in the Civil Courts, or in the Criminal Courts if they have been assaulted. They should feel that, no matter how humble they are, they will at all times receive justice, and in this connection co-operative organisations would be a great help.

The Need for an Efficient Fisheries Department.

The need for an efficient fisheries department and the improvement of Bengal's fishery resources has been already recognised for more than a quarter of a century. In 1906, Mr. K. G. Gupta (now Sir) of the Indian Civil Service was placed on special duty to investigate the fisheries of Bengal, and a year later he visited the chief fisheries of Europe and America with a view to studying their bearing on our fisheries problems. Sir K. G. Gupta, who in Bengal had the help of Dr. B. L.

Chaudhuri, the well-known Ichthyologist, submitted two splendid reports on the result of his investigations, making at the same time detailed suggestions for the improvement of our fisheries. Apart from legislation, Sir K. G. Gupta suggested the organisation of "a Government agency for the conservation and development of the fisheries of Bengal," and recommended that this agency should be constituted after the model of the Scottish Fisheries Board with a salaried Commissioner and an Advisory Committee of six honorary members. He stressed the necessity for Government initiative, of propaganda, of systematic pisciculture, of model factories for showing the processes of curing, manufacture of fish-oil, extraction of isinglass from the bladder and the conversion of fish-refuse into fertilisers, of scientific investigation, and of the encouragement of indigenous talent for fisheries work. He accordingly recommended that two Indian students be deputed to Europe and America respectively, that laboratories be started at Puri, Diamond Harbour and Bhagalpore or Monghyr for observations on marine, estuarine and freshwater fish respectively, and that the central station, aquarium, and fisheries museum be situated in Calcutta.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal replied that "Mr. Gupta's recommendations are receiving the careful attention of the Lieutenant Governor," and to the credit of the Government it must be said that some effort was made to carry out Sir K. G. Gupta's suggestions. In 1908, Mr. K. Ahmed, C. S., was appointed Commissioner of Fisheries, Bengal, and shortly after a Board, more or less on the lines advised by Sir K. G. Gupta, was constituted. Its personnel however, was heavy as, apart from the official members, the seven divisions of Bengal, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the National Chamber of Commerce, the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta, the British Indian Association and the Bihar Landholders' Association (!) were represented on it. With such a constitution it was not unnatural that many of

Mr. Ahmed's suggestions, such as those concerning legislation, were rejected, and that the Board soon became a dissentient and inefficient body as a prelude to an early death.

The Government also deputed two Indian students to Europe and America, who on their return did as good work as circumstances and their previous training permitted. Further the trawler *Golden Crown* was purchased and the services of Dr. J. Travis Jenkins were obtained as Fishery Adviser to the Government. The scientific results of the work of this trawler (which was sold after two years, working) are very extensive and valuable, and though its activities did not result in immediate financial benefits, they have laid the basis for the intelligent exploitation of the fisheries resources of the Bay, when the men and money are forthcoming for such work. On the whole it may be said that Sir K. G. Gupta's and Mr. Ahmed's work gave a great impetus to fisheries work in Bengal, though it was not very long before its force died away.

Soon after the dissolution of the Board the Department of Fisheries, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was started, Mr. T. Southwell assuming the Directorship shortly after its inauguration. Mr. Southwell and his assistants did much useful scientific, piscicultural and propaganda work, though the adverse conditions under which the Department laboured precluded the possibility of any outstanding results being achieved. The last scientific Director was Dr. Baini Prasad, now Superintendent of the Zoological Survey of India. A half-hearted attempt was made to continue the department after Dr. Prasad's departure, but little or nothing was done, and in 1923 the Department was abolished as a "measure of economy." These are the words with which the Agricultural Commission has tempered its criticism of the present position; it did not reflect that even with a more or less bankrupt Government the question of economy does not arise where a well-run fisheries department is concerned.

This is the amazing position in which the richest province in India finds itself to-day. Yet, in spite of all the criticisms

which one may bring against the deceased Department of Fisheries in Bengal, it accomplished much work of real value. Between the years 1906 and 1914, the imports of fish into Calcutta showed a marked decline, Mr. Southwell remarking in 1915 that "the details given in the following pages clearly prove that the imports are decreasing materially year by year." At this time (1914-15) the total imports were approximately 4,628 tons. but in 1917 they had risen to 11,638 tons, and in his report for that year Mr. Southwell rightly indicates that this increase is in a large measure due to the work of his department. The imports since then have been steadily increasing and in the last year (1922-23) for which I have figures they had reached 15,970 tons.

These are not the only considerations which should have prompted the Government to continue and expand the Department of Fisheries instead of abolishing it. The success of fisheries departments in other provinces should have showed that a fisheries department in Bengal could be equally successful. Madras has what is probably the best fisheries department in the Indo-Malayan region. It has done splendid research, it has organised and developed every aspect of the fisheries of the Presidency, it has inaugurated co-operative societies of fisheries to which good fisheries are leased, and its officers have done educational and socio-economic work even to the extent of lecturing fishermen on the evils of drink! Moreover though it is not run as a commercial undertaking (apparently a fatal policy for Government concerns), it is run efficiently, and the result is that the income has equalled and even exceeded the expenditure for many years. Even in the small Punjab Fisheries Department there is the same relation between income and expenditure, most of the income being derived from the revenue resulting from legislation.

On the whole the results prove that every fisheries department in the country, even when indifferently run, has been of material advantage to the area it serves. The Government should,

therefore, give their earliest attention not only to the reconstitution of the fisheries department in Bengal, but to the formation of an Imperial Fisheries Survey, as Mr. Ahmed recommended nearly twenty years ago. Patchwork will not do. Fishery Boards, or under-staffed, under-financed Provincial Departments, unrelated to each other, will not solve India's pressing fish problem. And even when properly staffed and financed, provincial departments involve considerable duplication and consequent wastage of money. We must, therefore, view with regret the Agricultural Commission's advice that "if the financial situation does not permit at present of the reconstitution of the (Bengal Fisheries) department, at least one officer possessed of the necessary qualifications should be placed on special duty to promote interest among local authorities....." Too much money has been wasted in India already on tentative experiments of this nature. What the country needs is an All-India Fisheries Department—well-equipped, well-staffed, well-financed—organised after a thorough investigation by experts into the fisheries resources of the country and of the best, co-ordinated and economical way of exploiting them. And if the real importance of the Indian Fisheries is realised a Commission of experts would be appointed to investigate them.

On the organisation of such a department I do not feel competent to speak, but it would seem that it should assimilate the Provincial Fisheries Departments, though they may be accorded the necessary degree of freedom and individuality. Its maintenance should not be heavy. The Madras Fisheries Department spends more than Rs. 3,00,000 per annum (income practically balancing expenditure) and if the facilities afforded by this Department be utilised, an expenditure (which should also be largely balanced by income) of a further Rs. 3,00,000 should give the country the beginnings of an ideal Fisheries Department. Of its work little need be said. It should be scientific, educative and administrative, and it should control and co-ordinate the work done in the provinces. The practical

fisheries work done in the provinces should be met from provincial budgets when the provincial revenues from fisheries taxation do not cover the expenditure. When such revenues exceed the expenditure they should be devoted to the development of the local fisheries at the discretion of the Director of the Survey. Given such a survey and the organised team work (instead of isolated pieces of research, done at the whim of particular workers and seldom properly completed) which it should inaugurate, and the capitalists such an organisation would encourage, it is not too optimistic to prophesy that India will become one of the richest fish-producing countries in the world, with Bengal holding pride of place among the provinces.

(*References*: It is neither possible nor necessar y to give here all the references, such as the *Bulletins*, *Reports* and other publications of the Bengal, Punjab and Madras Fisheries Departmen ts, which have been consulted, but it was felt that a few of the pri ncipal papers on which the above remarks are based should be recorded for the benefit of those who wish to pursue the matter further.)

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CEDRIC DOVER

TO RABINDRANATH

Thou noblest and the best in all the land
Oh! let me hail thee on this glorious day.
Recall thy happy muse for us to stand
And march along the wide and weary way.

Bewitching art and song of joy to pray
In fond the life and world by thine own hand,
Now, Master-poet and Prophet of Eastern band
Delighted we are to read in thee a lay;

Reminding deepest deep of beauty divine
An orient light of Ind on earth I see
No nobler poet than thee; in you combine

An art, wisdom and song itself to me;
Thou singer of truth; countryman of mine
Hollo! happier days I wish as happy be.

V. H. PANDIT

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

Introductory.

There are many phases of rural uplift work clamouring for attention but the scheme suggested in this brochure concentrates attention on two aspects only —and these not the least important —namely, increase of production and improvement in the working efficiency of the villager.

The scheme is adapted from a similar organization found in actual operation in parts of Japan where, under Government encouragement, a large measure of success has been achieved. Records of villages exist in that country which, under the operation of such a scheme, have increased their income five-fold or more in the course of twenty years. Progress under the scheme is measured from year to year by the gross earnings of the village population and schedules are prepared which enable single families, as well as the village population collectively, to think in figures and to provide themselves with the means of measuring their progress in comparison with their own past as well as with other neighbouring villages.

Agriculture is conducted in Japan on the principle of family management on a small scale and it plays the same important rôle as in India. The same handicaps, also, operate in both countries, namely, the small size of the holding, over-population and indebtedness, but in India there is in addition illiteracy which has deepened the impoverishment of the rural communities.

The rural population is at present the least able to help itself and on account of its overwhelming numbers, even a small improvement in its condition will mean a great gain to the country at large. The betterment of this population has become

without question one of the most outstanding problems of our time. The great growth of population revealed by the recent Census is a warning that the occasion demands a more vigorous programme of agricultural reform than any attempted in the past necessitating large organizations and strong popular support for its success.

Object of the Scheme.

According to the latest Census, India contains no less than 350 million inhabitants or about one-fifth of the entire population of the globe. The recorded figures show that 9 per cent. of this population is literate, 90 per cent. of it resides in rural areas and 73 per cent. earns its living from agriculture. The country is undeveloped in the modern sense ; the population, though growing rapidly, continues to be predominantly rural. Whether due to the peculiar seasonal conditions, or because the country is not organised for the production of wealth, about one-fourth of the entire population, although capable of working, remains idle for the greater part of the year, and among the remaining number also there is an alarming amount of short employment. The result is, small output of work, disproportionately small production, low earning power, and poverty beyond any knowledge which Western nations have of it.

Of late years problems affecting the rural population are attracting attention and in many quarters a genuine interest is being evinced to improve the lot of the villager. Public-spirited citizens, Government officials, university professors, graduate volunteers and others are carrying on village surveys. A certain amount of statistical and other information has been gathered and illuminating reports have been written about village social and economic life. But action of a definite kind has been overdue for some time now. It is true, in a few places, particularly in the Punjab and in the Bombay Deccan, actual reconstruction of village life has also been attempted. But most of the work

done has been of the nature of investigation. The disease has been diagnosed but it has not been found easy to devise effective remedies. This is due to the inherent difficulties of the problem, and to the population being illiterate and lacking in initiative and power of co-operation. Some of the remedies suggested have been very elaborate, and for that reason they are not such as to promise appreciable results within a reasonable time. It is therefore thought necessary to sacrifice thoroughness, to some extent, if thereby the chances of introducing a workable scheme could be improved.

In what follows a rural improvement scheme suited to local conditions is outlined. The scheme aims at increasing income in villages by increasing production from agriculture, by extending subsidiary occupations and industries and by increasing the hours and output of work as practised by the village communities. It aims at progress by laying emphasis on production, in othet words, by appealing to the self-interest of the villager. Ir attempts, at the same time, at increasing the working efficiency of the villager, by initiating a system of home discipline, by providing for vocational or occupational training and by extending educational facilities as widely as local resources might permit. While external aid is fully availed of, its primary object is to give full play to the villager's capacity for self-reliance and self-expression.

Village Improvement Association and Council.

To give the reader some idea of the agency required and the methods that will have to be followed in introducing the proposed scheme, it might be useful to describe the organization witnessed in one of the model villages of Japan. The village in question had an association consisting of the headmen of families in the area, or house-masters as they were locally called, for the purpose of increasing production and occupations and its material prosperity generally. This Association met twice a

year in Conference. At these Conferences, questions pertaining to the wants and desires of the village in respect of production and occupations, and to the funds and measures required to promote both, were considered and discussed and, with the assistance of the Council of the Association, a programme of work and budget of expenditure was drawn up. Enquiries showed that the expenditure was met by contributions from the members of the Association (*i.e.*, headmen of families), every farmer's family paying its share according to its estimated income or earning capacity.

The Conference carefully examined every measure suggested with a view to increasing production and income, whether from agriculture, subsidiary occupations, industries or service. Experienced leaders and business-men, who had studied rural problems, were invited from the neighbouring cities to advise the people how occupations might be multiplied, production increased and the prosperity of the village promoted. Lectures were delivered, discussions, fairs and exhibitions held, and the Conference was wound up by a visit to the village Shinto temple, where divine blessings were invoked on the undertakings initiated by the Association.

The Village Council with its elected Chairman, who is usually the village chief, and Vice-Chairman, who generally is the school-master, constituted the executive body of the Association. It usually met once a month to give practical effect to the policies and programmes of the half-yearly Conferences. This was attempted by distributing the work to be done among the village headmen and enlisting their close co-operation and also seeking advice and help, from persons of light and leading outside the village, whenever needed.

A similar Association with an executive committee and headman can be brought into existence, to serve the same purposes, with similar results, in any Indian village, or group of villages, whether situated in a British province or in an Indian State.

Village Unit.

According to the 1921 Census, the average population of an Indian village is about 418 persons.* Taking 4·9 persons per family, such a village should contain about 85 families. A village of this size will not have sufficient resources in men or money to carry on the work of the Village Improvement Association. But if the village contains, say, 500 families or more, it may be expected to provide the resources needed to work the scheme. Otherwise, in order to find the requisite number of qualified literate men and adequate funds for the purpose, it will be necessary to form a circle of, say, 4 to 6 villages into a Union (if the villages are of the size of the average Indian village mentioned) and to make the central village in the circle its head-quarters.

A similar measure was adopted in Japan in order to render village administration efficient. Formerly there were 70,000 distinct villages and hamlets in that country. That number is still there, but by grouping them for administrative purposes in the manner explained, the number of rural administrative units has been brought down to about 12,000.

Where a number of villages or hamlets are grouped together in this way, the Central Council appoints separate local representatives for each village or hamlet to carry on the duties with the aid of the executive staff of the Association.

The house or family is the unit recognised in Japan for the purpose of estimating the produce and income and for supplying the funds needed to maintain the staff and activities of the Association. The same unit will be most appropriate for the conditions of India. The headman of each family, or any

* The average population of a village for India as a whole is 418 persons; that of a village in the Bombay Presidency is 562; in the Madras Presidency 710; in the Bengal Presidency 512; and in the Indian State of Mysore 309.

member of the family who administers its affairs, should, as in Japan, be held responsible by the Association and by public opinion, for contributing the family's fair share of the work and expenses of the Village Improvement Association.

Uplift Work in Isolated Villages and Hamlets.

Although in the great majority of cases it will be necessary to adopt the village union system just described, yet the scheme can be introduced into, and worked in, any individual village or hamlet, however small. But in such cases, it is necessary that the responsibility for working the scheme should be shouldered by an influential *inamdar,* headman or leader, who understands the scheme and who, at the same time, enjoys the confidence of the people of the village and has sufficient strength of purpose to persevere until substantial results are achieved.

Statistics of Production and Income.

The improvement in earning power or the well-being of a farmer's family, or of a village as a whole, from year to year, should be gauged by the increase in his or its income, which again should be regularly estimated or valued. The income of a farmer's family will depend on the nature and variety of the occupations pursued by himself and the members of his household. It usually falls under three heads :—

(1) Agricultural produce,
(2) Products of subsidiary occupations and minor industries, and
(3) Income from labour or service : all other miscellaneous incomes.

Under each of these heads, particulars should be given of the quantities or amounts and values of the products, services, etc., as far as available, though values should be given in every case.

The family Income Register (*vide* Table I) should be filled in by the headman of the family himself or by a house-to-house enquiry conducted by an official of the Association.

The income may consist of the produce of the fields cultivated by the family, the products of home industries and occupations, the proceeds of sale of milk and milk products and vegetables and other sundry produce, money earned by plying carts for hire, wages of labour or service rendered to people within or outside the village, and other sources. Income from investments, remittances from family members residing abroad and every other source should be similarly ascertained and brought into account in the Family Income Register (Table I).

The amount of income earned from every source is totalled up for each family and the aggregate income of the village is then obtained by adding together the incomes of all the families. From this total should be deducted the value of services rendered to people residing within the village. The net total arrived at in this way will represent, as near as can be, the gross income of the village. This should be recorded in the village Income Register (see Table II).

This table is intended to register in reasonable detail the quantities and values of each of the principal crops, products and services which, in their aggregate, will represent the entire production and income of the village during the year. The total quantity of any particular commodity produced in it in any year will thus be available for comparison with corresponding production in subsequent years.

The figure representing the village income in rupees, divided by the number of families, will give the average income per family ; the same figure divided by the number of persons in the village, will represent the average income per head of the village population. These results should be also exhibited in Table II.

To serve the purpose of a ready test, especially as to whether the village is *gaining or losing in production and prosperity*, the total income should be recorded from year to year for a series of

years in the Progress Register (Table III). This table is also designed to include statistics of progress in education, culture and discipline as explained below.

The officials of the Village Association should prepare these tables under outside or expert supervision for a few years. The headman of each family should be induced to prepare the Family Income Register (Table I) himself, if he can, with the aid of the officials of the Village Improvement Association. Otherwise, it should be prepared by the officials themselves from year to year, where necessary, with the help of persons in the confidence of the family, and the results embodied in Table II. Tables II and III should be preserved as a permanent record in the Village Office and copies of the same exhibited in the village hall (or *chavdi*) for public information.

Ways of Increasing Production and Income.

The Village Association should carry on propaganda to educate the people in rural economics. When the villagers begin to realize the significance of the figures given in the Tables, they may be expected to change their present wholly conservative outlook and try new ways of increasing production and income, and economising expenditure.

Production from agriculture may be increased by increasing the area cultivated; by extending irrigation from tanks, canals and wells; by consolidating holdings; by providing special credit facilities; by growing more profitable crops, such as commercial and fruit crops; by using better seed and manure, including where necessary green manure; by removing insect pests; and generally by practising scientific methods and co-operative principle both in cultivation and finance.

The subsidiary occupations and minor industries that may be encouraged are: hand-spinning and weaving, silk reeling, carpentry, smithing, leather-work, pottery, brick and tile-making, carpets, mat, basket and rope manufacture, live-stock improvement, fishing and the like. Besides these age-old known

industries, the newer home industries practised abroad which are more profitable and which require a knowledge of science and special skill should be introduced, gradually or rapidly, according to the diligence and enterprise shown by the village community concerned.

Under labour and service will come hiring tools and machinery, farm and domestic service, plying carts for hire, collection and sale of manure and fuel and such other pursuits.

When the economic implications of rural occupations are better understood, the farmers might be expected to start on a career of reform. They may learn to produce, locally, as far as they can, the greater part of the commodities they consume and to manufacture finished products for sale. They may learn to reduce the cost of farm operations by sharing the use of each other's bullocks, farm tools, and personal labour on the co-operative principle. They will also learn to diversify the industries and occupations, according to the special resources and conditions of each locality, instead of carrying on the same on a monotonous scale for every village group or unit.

Profiting by Comparison.

The data thus collected may be compiled also into charts or graphs in a form which may carry conviction to the villager, and hung up in the village hall or office as is done in the villages of Japan. Records of the kind exhibited in Tables II and III would indicate to the intelligent villager at what rates the production and income of his village have varied in the past and what causes have contributed to such variation. The longer the period for which the records are maintained, the clearer will be the past history of the village in material prosperity. In some Japanese villages such records are available for 25 years or more, showing the importance which the practical Japanese nation attached, early in their career of reform, to the measures calculated to promote the economic well-being of its rural population.

By comparing the results from year to year in this way and the same with those of their neighbours, the people of the village will know not only at what rate they have progressed with reference to their own past but also how they are faring relatively to other villages. The knowledge, thus derived, would create a spirit of healthy rivalry and enterprise among them, to put their opportunities, capacity and resources to the fullest use.

Improving the Working Capacity of the Villager.

The adult persons of a village will become efficient working and earning members of their respective families if they are instructed in the 3 R's and taught habits of steady work, industry and thrift. These habits should be inculcated by means of school lessons, other forms of propaganda and lectures. The responsibility for this would rest jointly on the Government agencies in control of education and on the headmen of families, immediately concerned, who would be the persons to benefit most by maintaining a high level of working efficiency among the members of their households. The Village Improvement Association should maintain the necessary propaganda to ensure that heads of families take active steps and do their duty faithfully by the village in this respect.

The first measure needed in this connection is home discipline to train the body, the mind and the character of the villager and to educate him in practices of self-reliance and self-help. The requisite training would fall mainly under the three following heads :—

(1) Every adult member of the family should be induced to work for about 8 hours a day and 6 days in the week. The task and hours of work may be varied according to age, state of health, working capacity of each member and the time of the year. When the work is light, the hours may be longer. In the busy season, the agriculturist has to work from early dawn till late in the evening or, as is said in Japan, from

star to star. If only the farm population acquires the habit of a regular 8 hours gainful occupation in the slack season, that single acquisition alone may prove the salvation of the community.

(2) Every member of the family should be instructed to cultivate the saving habit so that the family may at no time fall into debt for unproductive expenditure. Experience shows that it is easy to earn a rupee—hard to save one. The ignorant villager is badly in need of lessons in thrift as he is often so improvident as to barter away even his land—his only source of livelihood—to meet the expenses of a social function, like a marriage or a funeral.

(3) The qualities of frankness and trustfulness should be specially fostered so as to remove the prevailing distrust, and apathy born of distrust, and to promote teamwork and brotherliness between neighbours. At harvest time and in emergencies, the cultivators do help one another even now, but a closer and more deliberately planned co-operation in many more fields of endeavour, bringing manifold benefits with it, is possible, and it can only come by special instruction, exhortation and example.

A second measure necessary to increase the number of earning members in village families is to make provision for the giving of manual and business training, and instruction in some trade, occupation or profession. Now-a-days innumerable subjects come under the dominion of training. Vocational training has been a neglected feature of Indian life everywhere hitherto and special provision will have to be made by the Village Improvement Association and the Government jointly to meet this need in future. In this connection it may be mentioned that the village population in Japan is placed in close touch with model farms and agricultural machinery. Agricultural courses are given in the villages in classes which are held at night time except in the busy season. Village industries are encouraged by subventions from the Village Council, the District, Prefecture or the State according to circumstances.

A third measure is education. Although treated as a subsidiary measure in connection with the uplift scheme, yet it must be recognized that education is the root of all progress. Government maintain educational institutions to a certain extent and the Village Improvement Association should add to the facilities when and where it can. In the Japanese villages, nearly 60 per cent. of the local taxes is spent on educational institutions in the village itself.

It is not proposed to enter into the details of these measures beyond stating that every effort should be made to increase facilities by providing night classes, reading rooms, travelling schools, weekly or other village meetings and classes and societies and clubs for professional training. At a later stage radios, cinemas and lectures by broadcasting may come in. Adult classes should be specially encouraged as a speedy means of spreading literacy. The responsibility for extending education and training to prepare men and women for industrial and business careers rests on every one concerned—Government departments, Village Improvement Associations of the kind referred to above, and philanthropists and public-spirited citizens.

A record of the progress achieved in family discipline, occupational training and general education may be included in the Progress Register of Income and Education already mentioned (see Table III).

Relations with other Local Organizations and with Government.

The main thing to secure under this scheme is *increase of income*. If this is assured, the people will be better able to provide for all village services and amenities. The Village Improvement Association should accordingly confine its attention to problems and activities connected *with production and income* and to the training needed for that purpose. The ordinary administrative functions of the village should be left to the

existing official agencies and kept quite distinct. If it is thought that any of the other village services such as road maintenance, conservancy or water-supply should also be entrusted to local unions or self-governing bodies, other rural voluntary associations or committees may be separately formed for the purpose as is the common practice in Japan. In every village in parts of Japan, there is an education society, a young men's association, a girls' society, an agricultural association and an industrial association of some kind or other. In some villages there are also an irrigation association, a credit association, selling association, producing association, purchasers' guild, and so on. Army people when they return to their village usually form an association of their own for local military men.

In India similar associations may be formed, wherever needed, if there is sufficient local enterprise for the purpose, but the duties of the Village Improvement Association proposed should not on any account be enlarged to embrace such services.

Under the Japanese law, Village Unions may be formed voluntarily for any joint purpose and they are made to function through elected councils. The Village Improvement Association referred to in this note presumably comes under this category. The suggested Village Improvement Association in India may include in its working agency the officials of the Village Government also, but the Association, to be successful, should be built up and maintained by the voluntary effort of the people themselves. It should receive every help, advice and encouragement from Government but should function *independently*, that is, be as little dependent as possible on official initiative. But with liberal encouragement from Government, such a scheme can go forward on a mass-movement scale.

It may be of interest to state in this connection that Village Government in Japan, which consists of a Village Council of 8 to 12 persons chosen by the people themselves, has wide discretionary powers. The office of headman is usually honorary and he is elected by the Council. District officials, such as,

Inspectors of Agriculture, Industries and Sanitation, working under the Prefectural Governors, visit the rural areas from time to time to *advise* the village officials in the execution of their duties. The Village Council collects the State as well as local taxes and has control of roads, elementary education, registration, conscription, water-supply, sanitation and other services.

When the Provincial Governments in India become autonomous, as they are shortly expected to be, the very first step to be taken in the interests of the rural population should be to grant self-government to villages in a liberal measure similar to that functioning in Japan. Self-governing villages would soon create a much-needed spirit of self-help and constructive effort among the local population leading to healthy developments in every sphere of activity,—economic, social, cultural, recreational and the like.

Inauguration of the Scheme.

Some of the model villages in Japan owe their business success and prosperity to the exertions of leading citizens who took up village uplift work as a matter of patriotic public duty. These men organized village associations, prepared improvement schemes and rules for operating them, and watched the progress of the schemes from stage to stage till the village folk acquired sufficient experience and enthusiasm to carry on the duties themselves without outside help.

In this country also the guidance and help of such leaders—public-spirited men, *inamdars*, local headmen and business-men—will be needed for the introduction of the scheme at the commencement. For each individual village or village group to begin with, the services of such a leader who understands the general principles and full implications of the scheme will be invaluable. The scheme affords an opportunity to leaders who have a passion to serve the people, and there are many such now-a-days. After some experience one such leader will be

able to guide the movement over a dozen or more units with the aid of volunteers. If the movement extends, arrangements may be made to give a six-months' training to volunteers in an institution specially started for the purpose. In course of time men, fired with missionary zeal and competent to serve as volunteers, will come forward from the local areas themselves and the neighbouring Taluka towns. Under the scheme, young men who start work as volunteers may begin work with a bare allowance, just sufficient to cover their maintenance, and may be expected later to create for themselves and the population around new sources of profitable employment on village agriculture and industries. The need to harness literate young men to rural work is admittedly great. The Universities of India are making available young men of discipline and culture in large numbers and it seems justifiable to use them to a reasonable extent on betterment work in the rural areas of the country.

If the subject is taken up on a mass-movement scale with the support of Government, there should be a Central Advisory Association and Council consisting of members of the provincial legislature, Government officials, leading agriculturists and business-men, established at the headquarters of every Province or State, to guide the movement. Such a Council will be also able, with the help of this movement, to establish new industries and occupation and reduce unemployment in the country.

Summary and Conclusion.

The primary object of the scheme adumbrated above is in the first instance to increase production and income in villages and next to make a better worker and citizen of the villager. The agency to work the scheme will be the Village Improvement Association consisting of heads or principal members of families residing in the village or villages comprising the unit (or circle). The executive work of the Association will be attended to by a

Council of 7 to 12 members and a head-man elected by the Association. One or more literate men, chosen where possible from the village itself, will be utilized for the clerical duties of the Association. The village unit will consist of one large village or a group (or circle) of several small villages, so chosen as to contain a sufficient number of families (usually not less than 500) and so constituted as to be capable of providing the necessary staff and activities of the Village Improvement Association from its own resources. Single villages and hamlets may also be brought under the operation of the scheme with appropriate variations in procedure, to attain the same objects, but in that case the uplift work should be under the direction of an influential citizen or agency in whom the villagers concerned are willing to confide. The Association will meet in Conference twice a year, or oftener when necessary, to consider and put into practice the various measures needed for increasing production and income. At these Conferences, the provision of facilities for elementary education, occupational training, lectures and other forms of propaganda to foster home discipline, will all come under review. The Council will prepare three Abstract Registers or Tables (see tabular statements appended) to record each year's work. Two of these, namely, Tables II and III, will be posted in the Village Chavdi or Office. These will furnish a much-needed record of the economic and cultural progress of the village unit, from year to year.

Such in brief are the principal features of the scheme. It is not claimed that the scheme is logically perfect. Gross income is taken as the test of progress, though the real test should be the net income, if it could be ascertained by a study of the receipts, expenditure, indebtedness and other special features of village social life. Net income may also be shown in the Tables wherever there is sufficient enterprise to make the necessary calculations and arrive at fairly reliable figures. Valuation of property is another test. But experience has shown that where calculations of this nature are attempted,

the problem becomes too abstruse and, for all practical purposes, insoluble. Gross income would give a rough idea of the growth or decline in prosperity and for the present this single test should suffice. To attempt further refinements would be to court failure.

Increase of production is proposed because that was what every country in Europe attempted while in straitened circumstances after the War. Discipline and vocational training are urged because their equipment, so necessary for material success, has never had a fair chance till now. Stress is laid on education because it is an indispensable instrument for progress of every kind. And organization on modern lines is advocated since nothing great or enduring can be accomplished without it. The Tables serve as a yard-stick for valuing income and measuring its growth from year to year.

It would be easy to visualise the scheme by remembering that it consists in substance in accounting for *three* sources of income and providing for *three* classes of training for the villager; and in the preparation of *three* Tabular statements at the close of the year to give a record or picture of the material condition of the village or village unit.

The scheme is put forward in a concrete shape, and every phase of it is clearly defined to admit of easy adoption and speedy practical action. Where any part of it is found difficult to grasp or practise, a trial should be given all the same, and the difficulties will be found to diminish gradually by repetition and familiarity.

Government encouragement would always be necessary for a wealth-producing progressive scheme of this nature. If it is given in the current spirit of encouraging self-help and self-improvement among the people, it will be easy to work the scheme on a mass-movement scale. So worked, it will be possible to develop a fervour for reform, even among the illiterate and the ignorant, which cannot fail to bring with it in a decade or so, benefits that under existing conditions might take half a century or more.

TABULAR STATEMENTS

TABLE I.

Family Income Register.

.....Village.....Taluk.....Distrtct for the year .....

Number of Family ... ...
Name of Head of Family ... ...

Number of persons in the Family—

Men	...	2
Women	...	4
Children—		
Boys	...	2
Girls	...	1
Total ...	...	9

Name of Product or Source of Income.	Quantity.	Value.	REMARKS.
	Mds.	Rs.	
1. *Agricultural Produce*—			
Jowar	33	264	
Bajri	1¼	14	
Wheat	10	50	
Cotton	...	40	
Kadbi (fodder)	...	80	
All other Produce	...	...	
2. *Products of subsidiary occupations and minor Industries*...	...	120	Average per family = Rs. 72.
3. *Service : Other Miscellaneous Income*—			
(1) Earnings from outside the village	...	84	
(2) Earnings from within the village	...	...	
TOTAL INCOME ...	...	652	

Note.—The figures in this schedule are taken from an actual survey of a village in the Bombay Deccan.

TABLE II.

Village Income Register.

.....Village.....Taluk... .....District for the year 1929-30.

Area ... ... 2,018 Acres (of which 134 are uncultivated).

Number of Families 103

Population—

Men	... ...	159
Women	....	148
Children	... ...	224
	Total ...	531

Item.	Name of Products, etc.	Quantity.	Value.	Remarks.	
1	*Agricultural Produce*—	Mds.	Rs.		Rs.
	1. Cotton	5,724	29,812	Total Income—	58,818
	2. Jowar	9,264	17,370	Average Income per family—	571
	3. Wheat	504	1,766		
	4. Lang	2,912	3,368	Average income per head of population—	111
	5. Toor	72	198		
	6. Rice	96	144		
	7. Wal	132	330		
	8. Tal	402	1,708		
	9. Miscellaneous Cereals	12	42		
	10. Grass	1,63,000 bundles.	4,080		
2	*Income from subsidiary occupations and Industries*—				
	(Details to be entered here.)				
3	*Service : Other Miscellaneous Income*—				
	Earnings from labour, carts, etc., supplied to people outside the village.				
	(Details to be entered here.)				
	Total Income ...		58,818		

Note.—(1) The figures given in this table are based on a rough investigation made in Bombay Gujrat in connection with the recent Banking Enquiry.

(2) No details are given under heads 2 and 3 presumably because those sources were not investigated.

TABLE III.

Progress Register.

.....Village.....Taluk.....District for the year 1929-30.

(A) RECORD OF PROGRESS IN INCOME (1).

Year.	Total Income of Village.	Number of families.	Average Income per family.	Total Village Population.	Income per head of Population.	REMARKS.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
1928-29 ...	38,735	105	368·9	515	75·2	
1929-30 ...	42 660	111	384·3	540	79	
1930-31 ...	53,429	117	456·6	581	91·9	
1931-32 ...						
1932-33 ...						

(B) RECORDS OF PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND HOME DISCIPLINE.

Particulars.	Number.	REMARKS. (2)
Number of families		
Population of Village—		
Males		
Females		
Children		
Persons able to read and write		
Males		
Females		
Total ...		
Children of School age		
Males		
Females		
Total ...		
Children actually attending School—		
Males		
Females		
Total ...		
Adults attending educational institutions—		
Males		
Females		
Total ...		
Number of families giving attention to training in Home Discipline...		
Number of Persons undergoing training in some Occupation or Profession—		
Males		
Women...		
Boys		
Girls		

Note.—(1) The figures entered in this table are merely illustrative.

(2) Provision made for general education and vocational training, etc., should be entered in the " Remarks " column.

M. VISVESVARAYA

LIGHT THOUGHTS

Dreams may live a day, Dear,
  Or, may be, a year,
Then they drift away, Dear,
  Obscurely disappear.
Some hold all the passion,
  Of a lover's sphere,
Some we weave and fashion
  From a smile—or tear.
But there are dreams to cherish
  Deep in my longing heart,
That will not fade or perish,
  They are of you—Sweetheart!

Dreams made from your eyes, Dear,
  From your lips and cheek,
From your pleased surprise, Dear,
  At some fond words I speak.
From your sweet caresses
  I have built a throne,
These, my dreams, God blesses,
  A king would proudly own.
Then, in a blaze of wonder,
 (Would it but happen now)
I'll feel there as I ponder
  Your lips upon my brow!

LELAND J. BERRY

WILLIAM JEARSEY

William Jearsey had the distinction of being one of the most turbulent servants that the East India Company had in its service. For sixteen years or more, no despatch going between Fort. St. George and the Directors was complete, if it did not contain at least one complaint against William Jearsey. There is something fascinating in the personality of this man. He had an amazing individuality and independence of spirit. He never did a single thing that he was asked to do or stopped doing what was forbidden. The Company displayed astounding impotency in dealing with this man.

His early life is obscure. He was a native of Herts, ran away from home early in life, wandered about freely and widely, and finally worked his way to India.

In 1653 he became the chief at Siriam, the Company's settlement at Pegu. His first collision with the Company occurred two years later. In 1655 the Court decided to close down all the factories subordinate to Fort. St. George. Accordingly, the factors of these small factories were asked to wind up and return to Madras. This order was promptly obeyed by all except William Jearsey. His indifference irritated the Council who wrote complaining of him to England. This was probably the first of a series that was to continue for sixteen years or more. The Court replied hoping that the Council would "not only exact a reason but also enforce him to make satisfaction for these his irregular courses." The irregular courses were: Jearsey's indifference to the Council's note ordering him to leave Siriam; his taking his passage on *Expedition* when he was definitely ordered to take some other ship; and his liberal use of the Company's money that he had on hand.

After this, his connections with the Company were severed, and he lived as a "freeman" in Madras. There he continually harassed the Council and earned a name for fiery temper. The despatches from Fort St. George contained abundant references to his insolence. Somehow the Court began to think well of him again, and he was reinstated as the chief at Masulipatam. The Council at Fort St. George realised that it was less uncomfortable to have Jearsey in the Company's service than out of it.

In 1662 he assumed office in Masulipatam, and commenced in earnest his tempestuous career of gathering enemies on all sides. He had hardly completed two years of office when a long list of his misdoings reached the Directors. The charges against him were remarkable for variety and number. He was reported to have done everything that the Court had forbidden him to do. He had given commission to the "Moores," he had neglected to receive freight from certain ships that he specially favoured, and above all he was making enormous profits from private trading when both private trading and profit-making stood penalised. He was also accused of encouraging ungodliness. "And in general his proceedings in the companies, affairs were Unjust and Irregular."

So far Jearsey had not lost his favour with the Directors at home. But in 1669 they sent a long letter embodying an elaborate analysis of Jearsey's sins: "... And for as much as we are informed that Mr. William Jearsey hath contemned our Orders, and permitted gross prophaness, and scandalous vices to be practized in our Factorie at Mesulapatam, to the dishonor of God and discredit of the Protestant religion, and hath carried on a trade not in India only, but promoted the same, out and home, overrating our goods, and making use of our stock for his own private advantage and finding that he hath made verie short returnes of what is come to his hands, and hath neglected to send us his accompts, and advices of his proceedings. ." The letter concluded with the instructions that if Jearsey would give the Company that vague thing "satisfaction" he might be

allowed to remain in India for a year or two. If not his goods were to be seized and sold, and he was to be sent home by the next ship. This was more easily said than done. In fact it was not done at all. It was not in Jearsey's power to give them what they called "satisfaction," and as for leaving India, he gave it no thought at all.

When news of Jearsey's dismissal reached Fort St. George Mr. Mohun, the new chief, started for Masulipatam. As soon as he arrived, Jearsey resigned and handed over the keys of the godowns. Mohun found that the godowns were "cleared of all manner of goods whatever,...clean swept and fit to receive goods.... The outhouses were all destitute of any Moveables." So much for the goods entrusted to Jearsey's care while he was in office. Then Mohun set about examining the account books and papers. When Mohun called for them, Jearsey vouchsafed him only a vague verbal answer that he would have it soon.

On 16th July Mohun wrote to Fort St. George in great bitterness, "Hee (Mr. Jearsey) hath promised us that wee shall receive his Accounts. In our last unto you wee did Mr. Jearsey some injury which was not soe intended for whereas wee did declare hee had left the Company nothing, wee now finde the contrary, for hee hath left a horse..."

Months later Jearsey was still indefinite about his accounts. In December he frankly confessed "that there were none, and that there had been none." But he offered Mohun some loose and scrappy memorials, diaries, and papers, which according to him would make up for the books. At last Mohun threatened to seize Jearsey's estate.

Towards the end of December they were able to get some books. Mohun seized some of Jearsey's ships, but could do nothing more. He viewed with dismay the immense influence that Jearsey wielded over all and sundry in Masulipatam. Mohun was actually afraid of him. In February 1671 Jearsey received this from Mohun and his subordinates: "Whereas you have taken little or no notice of our protest bearing date the 22nd

January and Ditto of the 24th following..... But have since caused many and great Agrevations by Contemning the Honble. Companys authority and despising us their Servants, having for three Dayes together beaten our Peons publickly in the streets..." He was also accused of writing to the Governor and others directly, ignoring Mohun, his immediate superior. He was also accused of taking away forcibly "300 Ps Longe Cloth" from Mohun's washermen.

Jearsey arrived in Fort St. George in April. The letter which followed him from Mohun to the Agent contained a long account of Jearsey's exit, which he had done as ceremoniously as he could, with colours flying, drums beating, trumpets and pipes playing, and a regiment of his own guard following him. In a general letter to the Court Mohun wrote that Jearsey had converted his house into a garrison, always surrounded by armed peons, with seldom less than eight or ten loaded pistols and blunderbusses on his table.

Jearsey occupied the house in Fort St. George known as "Agent Greenhill's," one of the biggest buildings in the place. A year later, he proceeded to add to his house and raise another building higher than what law permitted. Permission from authorities was neither sought nor given. They protested against it and tried to prevent him from raising the new building. As usual Jearsey recognized no law higher than himself. The authorities waited till Jearsey completed the building, and then decreed that it should not go higher.

Five years after his dismissal Jearsey was still blissfully indifferent to the demand for his account books. The Directors blamed their servants at Fort St. George for the delay, and ordered them to pack Jearsey home immediately. But subsequently they relented and graciously permitted Jearsey to stay in India for a year more on condition that he sent them 2,000 pagodas and "Callicoes etc." They were reckoning without their host. Jearsey took scant notice of this alternate offer. As for sending them 2,000 pagodas, he discomfited the Company by

reminding them that they had in their hands a far greater sum, which Mohun had seized from himself. He wrote that he would be much obliged to them if they would make an early settlement of his accounts by sending him the balance after, if they were so keen upon it, deducting 2,000 pagodas! As for taking in good grace the alternative of staying in or leaving India, he probably made no comment at that time. He neither thanked them nor cursed them for it. But it is significant that even in 1690, we see old Jearsey contemplating the serene grey walls of Fort St. George. He was still enjoying the salubrious air of Madras. And this in spite of the fact that the Honourable Company graciously sanctioned him a year more of stay in 1674!

The Directors were an optimistic lot. They made their demands for Jearsey's accounts and departure for England an annual affair. In 1675 they expressed their surprise at Jearsey's indifference. And again next year they were disposed to be satisfied with the scanty papers, memorials, diaries, etc. "By them Mr. Jearsey appears to be a very great debtor."

By 1677 we find a distinct change in the tone of the letters from England. The Directors' zeal to bring Jearsey to account was on the wane. As time went on their notes lacked conviction or fervour.

Meanwhile, Jearsey was very well off in Madras, a flourishing owner of many ships carrying on vigorous trade, forbidden and otherwise, on all sides. In addition to this that existence may be complete with the picture of a domestic idyll in the background, he chose a Dutch woman after his heart, for life partnership. His name is to be found in the list of "freemen" living in Fort St. George "Madraspatnam." He was living the merchant proper by attending to his social duties also. His name was among the first few prominent contributors to a fund for building a church.

In 1686 the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Directors that they might be empowered to investigate into Jearsey's affairs themselves, as waiting for him to go to England

would be indefinite. The Directors sanctioned this saying that they would be satisfied if copies of the proceedings were sent to them.

On the 30th September 1686 Jearsey was "discoursed about his Accompts," and on the 4th October he "delivered an answer to every Article in the Cos. charges against him." He vehemently repudiated the charge that he had in any way misused the Company's money. He admitted that he had traded privately but it was long before private trading was declared illegal. And moreover there was no proof of his private enterprises, the books concerned being strangely absent. On this the Council wrote, "And there appearing no proof thereof nor indeed of any part of his charge (neither can itt be expected that hereafter any further proof should be made against him itt being so long agoe, and most if not all persons dead, that were privy to the transactions of those times)." The words within the brackets contain a pathetic admission. The upshot of the trial was, Jearsey and the Company were to cry quits on the following conditions: Jearsey was to receive 3,000 pagodas (though he demurred and demanded the whole amount with interest) from the Company in settlement of his account, and sign a formal release from all obligations to the Company. Jearsey's early history does not show that he had owned any at that time. And so this signing of release must have made little difference to him. On the other hand there is every reason to believe that the Company breathed more freely after this settlement and felt free to devote its time and energy to more useful things than William Jearsey.

The news of this settlement had not yet reached the Directors; they were already tuning for the finale in their despatch of January 1687, "We know not what end you have made with Mr. Jerzie, or why you and he should of late be so pressing for their leaving it to you, to make an end of that busyness which he delayed so many years before, and always made some excuse or other by himself.....But upon the whole we are very confident, if right were done, he would be found greatly in our debt,

one instance whereof you will find in the enclosed letter to Mr. Johnson's father (December 1662), wherein you will see what a Hector Mr. Jearsey was in those dayes and how liberally he carved for himself.....out of everyman's estates : And therefore we can the less think he spared the Companies."

Jearsey lived on peacefully as a freeman in Fort. St. George. His wife went two years in advance of him to the grave. In December 1690 the life of this unique figure came to a close. Truly, the Company must have heaved a long sigh of relief after his death. In 1699 his house was bought up by the Company. There seems to be an element of revenge, though belated, in this act. For, they soon converted it into a granary and godown.

R. K. KUNJAPPA

TEARS OF AGES

Our virgin widows' woes and groans,
Of countless souls, of countless years,
Hang o'er this sacred, ancient land,
Like gloomy clouds, so thick with tears.

What boots our boasted, beauteous thoughts?
What boots our sages heav'nly sent?
Have we a heart that feeleth deep,
For souls, so simple, innocent?

Our selfish priests and pandits proud,
Are hard-hearted and haughty-headed;
Are stumbling blocks and mumbling bores,
To hopeless orthodoxy wedded.

When shall our wretched laws be off?
When shall our cursed ustoms go?
Let them be free, let them be wed,
Let them with holy freedom glow.

S. R. AYYAR

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY BANK OF BOMBAY

(Based on manuscript records of the Government of Bombay)

Great credit is due to Mr. G. P. Symes Scutt for chronicling the main events for the early history of the Bank of Bengal with some degree of accuracy and completeness. But there is unfortunately no detailed statement of the history of the Presidency Bank of Bombay. A pamphlet entitled "the late Government Bank of Bombay" which an anonymous writer wrote in 1868 devotes great attention to the fortunes of the Bank in the second decade of the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the early history of the Bank from 1840 to 1857, which is considered uneventful by the present writer, is often passed over in silence and the historians of banking have failed to draw successful lessons from the events of this period. While all unessential and prolix details are omitted, the most important events are referred to. Throughout the narrative the object has been to secure lessons from its early history which would be of great service to the existing banking institutions.

The conditions leading to the establishment of the Bank of Bombay are not generally stated in detail.[1] Firstly, there was the commercial necessity. The trade of the city increased and was almost "of the same magnitude as that of Calcutta." The starting of a bank would still further increase the commerce of the city by extending discounting facilities. The moneyed interests of the city monopolised the commerce of the place and lent on all manners of securities, good, bad,

[1] See the Report of the Meeting held at the office of Messrs. Skinner & Co. on 26th December, 1836. A copy of the printed report issued by the Provisional Committee of Shareholders is carefully preserved in the Government Record Office.

and indifferent and even such securities were of doubtful value as Respondentia were accepted as collateral for loans. The other object was the breaking up of the monopoly of this moneyed interest and the rendering unnecessary of the use of metallic currency (silver rupees) for making large payments which meant loss of time and heavy loss of money incurred as shroffage, custody and transport of the same. The recent withdrawal of the privilege of making deposits in the treasury already alluded to necessitated the opening of a bank which would render similar service of keeping deposits in safe custody and grant them facilities for making transfers in the same manner as the treasury did. The facilitating and rendering more secure the money transactions and remittances of the people were the sole motives of the promoters of the bank. Thus the commercial needs of the city preceded practically the creation of the bank. But other circumstances also aided the people of Bombay and made the Government of Bombay fall in with the wishes of the founders of the scheme. The sister Presidencies of Bengal as well as Madras had successful banks operating in their midst and even at Agra, the local bank was conducting business successfully. So it was considered that circumstances were ripe enough to permit the creation of a Bank in Bombay. Another cogent reason which had some weight and turned the scale practically in the formation of a bank was the anxiety felt by the people of the locality and shared to some extent by the Government to prevent foreign banks started either by the capitalists of London or Calcutta from obtaining the control and superintendence of the monetary transactions of the Island and conducting them in a manner prejudicial to the genuine interests of the people of the locality. It was more or less a defensive move on their part which they had to undertake as soon as they heard of the plan of the East India Bank, established 1836.

But the leading mercantile houses began to openly avow their hostility to the above scheme. Anxious to defeat the

proposal, they promptly wrote to the Government agreeing to lodge their money in the treasury for Government promissory notes payable on demand.[1] They also hinted the possibility of private capital being invested in the treasury notes. They tried to scare away the Government by repeating the imaginary difficulties that would have to be encountered in the circulation "of paper money and prophesied that great evils would follow out of the circulation of bank notes." They quoted exultingly "the failures of banks set up by the Agency Houses at Calcutta" and wanted the Government not to inflict such tragic circumstances on the people of Bombay. But these misguided efforts proved a failure. The wants of the society preceded practically the creation of a bank and the conditions of the city were so ripe that all attempts at postponing the establishment of the bank proved futile.

But the Bombay Government, which experienced great difficulty in issuing treasury notes naturally did not pay much heed to the false and interested reasoning on the part of the Bombay merchant houses. Not only did they remember their own sad experience in the matter of the treasury notes issued in 1825 and 1827 [2] but they were convinced that very little capital would be invested by the private capitalists. Realising the success of the Chartered Bank of Bengal it naturally felt that there was not much real danger in the circulation of bank notes provided the charter regulations were followed both in letter as well as in spirit. Being convinced of the possibility of successfully conducting the banking institution, the Bombay Government turned a deaf ear to the

[1] See their letter, dated 24th December 1836, preserved in the Financial Department. Messrs. Forbes & Co., Remington and Co., Jameshedjee Jeejeebhoy and Co., and others signed the above memorial.

[2] In 1825 treasury notes were issued bearing interest at six and half per cent. rate of interest and in 1827 at five per cent. per diem. As the General treasury was always enjoying low cash balances it found great trouble in arranging for the repayment of the treasury notes even at the end of twelve months for which they were floated.

merchants' memorial and supported whole-heartedly the arrangements for creating a chartered bank on the model of the Bank of Bengal for which the Provisional Committee of Shareholders endeavoured to secure sanction from the Supreme Government of India.

The proposed charter of the Bank of Bombay was sent to the Supreme Government for confirmation and Mr. R. Grant who was the Secretary to the Government of India promptly took exception to the suggestion of granting the power to open branches which privilege was not originally granted to the Bank of Bengal at the time of its initial starting as a Chartered Bank in 1809.[1]

Though the bank was first planned in 1837,[2] the bank could not secure its final charter till 1840 and as the causes leading to this delay have been pointed out already by other writers, much need not be stated of the same. Being a Chartered [3] Bank all people including the Company's servants,

[1] See para. 49 of his Minute, dated 14th January 1837. But as this privilege was granted to the Bank of Bengal in a subsequent charter it was allowed to exist in the charter of the Bank of Bombay.

[2] To quote the exact date, the Provisional Committee of Shareholders was formed at a meeting held on 26th December, 1836, at the office of Messrs. Skinner and Co.

[3] Doubts were expressed in 1834 as regards the eligibility of the Company's servants as bank shareholders. The Union Bank of Calcutta promptly wrote to the Imperial Government to decide the matter and the Financial Notification, dated 22nd September, 1834, decided the issue and prohibited the Company's servants from holding shares in private banks. The Hon'ble the Court of Directors approved this step in their letter No. 9 of 1837, dated 10th May. 1837, written to the Governor-General *in Council. So the Union Bank must be considered as the first Joint-Stock Bank of indigenous non-official enterprise started by the private capitalists of the time.*

By virtue of Act 47 George III 68 power was granted to the Governments of Bombay, Bengal and Fort St. George to incorporate banks in their territories. It was also decided that all the Company's servants and Judges of the Courts of Justices in India might subscribe to a chartered bank. It was also decided that the Company's servants might be elected as directors of the bank notwithstanding the Act of 33rd George III. But it was declared at the same time that no Judge of any Court of Justice established by His Majesty's Charter was capable of holding office of the director of any bank.

See Public General Letter from the Government of India to the Court, 23rd July, 1806, para. 182.

judges, military men, and other civilians were permitted to become shareholders and possess Chartered Bank stock. There was practically great rush to own the Bank stock as the bank by virtue of its Government connection, ownership of capital and control over its proceedings through its nominated directors, was assured of success from the very threshhold of its career. After a good deal of higgling which caused much heart-burning in the minds of the people who were disappointed and disqualified as shareholders, the re-arrangement of shares was completed and by 1840 the Chartered Bank of Bombay commenced its actual operations with an actual capital of Rupees Fifty-two Lakhs and Twenty-five Thousand divided into 5,225 shares of which the Government of Bombay held three hundred.[1] (The first Government directors were the Accountant-General,[2] Secretary to the Government in the Financial Department and W. R. Morris, Esq.[3] The following were the first six elected directors elected in conformity with the provisions of Section XII, Act III of 1840 :

Names of the Directors.	No. of votes polled in favour.
R. G. Gordon	222 votes
James Wright	217 ,,
Lieutanant-Col. G. Moor	216 ,,
F. M. Davidson	216 ,,
Framjee Cowasjee	207 ,,
Captain J. Swanson	132 ,,

The first office was in Rampart Row in the building No. 23 belonging to Jehangeer Nasirwanjee Wadeya.[4] The bank commenced actual operations on Wednesday, 15th April, 1840.

Since C. N. Cooks and J. B. Brunyate wrote that the constitution of the Directorate was similar to that of the

[1] A large number of the original shareholders were Parsees and natives of India, a thing which did not exist in the case of the other sister Presidency Banks. But in spite of this only one Indian director was elected.

[2] See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 11th March, 1840.

[3] *Ibid*, 16th ,, ,,

[4] *Ibid*, 30th ,, ,,

Bank of Bengal and that the same kind of business was permitted by the Charter, it has become the habitual practice of other writers to repeat this self same information. But no writer has proved how from the very inception of the Bank its operations were very closely modelled on that of the Bank of Bengal. It was not the mere similarity of the charter provisions that is of any importance. In the method of issuing bank notes and bank post bills and receiving the same at the treasury, in the details of its routine management, office expenses and establishment charges and in the way of securing additional customers to the bank so as to become the sole medium of nearly all the receipts and payments on behalf of the Government as well as the people, the Bank of Bombay was guided solely by the experience of the older-established institution. Whenever any new measure had to be undertaken the Secretary of the Bank of Bombay usually approached the Bombay Government with a request to elicit the practice of the Bank of Bengal under that heading so that it might be guided by its advice.

For instance, the Bank of Bombay wanted to know the exact strength of the establishment of the Bank of Bengal at its first formation in April, 1806, and the nature of the same in 1839, so as to determine for itself the total expenditure it can prudently incur in the matter of its own establishment. As those details are not evidently mentioned by any other writer it might be of some use to point out how economically the staff was arranged from the very outset and the sin of top-heavy management, which modern banks generally commit, was very carefully avoided by the Presidency Banks of Bengal and Bombay.

Memorandum of the Establishment of the Bank of Bengal at its first formation in April, 1806.

	Sicca Rupees.
Salary of the Secretary and Treasurer	800
Rent of a House	300
Salary of a Book-keeper	300
One Portuguese writer	100

	Sicca Rupees.
Three Native writers	100
Khazanchee or cash-keeper	300
Poddars	120
Shroffs and Purkeyers	80
Bengal writers	80
Accountants	80
Coolies and Darwans	20
Peons	20
Contingencies (expenses of notes, stationery, candles, etc.) ...	200
Total Sicca Rs. per mensem	2,500

It was inevitable that with gradual growth of business the staff had to be increased to cope with the volume of business and render expeditious service to the bank customers. The expenses were almost quadrupled and the increasing necessity for a carefully planned division of labour forced the bank to introduce different departments and systematise the nature of the work which these had to transact. The following was the establishment of the Bank of Bengal in March, 1839.

	Company's Rupees.
Secretary and Treasurer	1,600
Deputy Secretary	1,000
Accountant	600
Assistant	400
Company's Rs.	3,600

English Office.

	Rs.	A.	P.
There were twenty-three assistants at a graded scale ranging from Rs. 80 each to Rs. 15 and the total expenses amounted to	846	10	8
The salaries of the duftries amounted to	37	1	0
One Pressman or Printer	10	10	8
The salary of Peons	31	5	4
Total ...	925	11	8

The Native Accountant's Office.

One Head Accountant	250	0	0
One Deputy ,, ...	106	10	8
There were sixteen assistants	451	5	4
Two duftries	11	0	0
Total ...	819	0	0

The Cash Office.

	Rs.	A.	P.
One Khazanchee	1,000	0	0
One Deputy Khazanchee	106	10	8
38 Native Assistants	1,165	9	7
Total ...	2,272	4	5
Besides these there were 18 Poddars, 2 Nagree Moonshies, 1 Jemadar, 8 Brojobassies, 1 Duftry, 1 Farash, 6 Coolies, 2 Mathurs, 1 Bhisty who were drawing roughly	2,610	15	6
The authorised Total ...	7,955	11	2
Contingencies, stationery, etc.	900	0	0
Total per mensem Company's ...	8,855	11	2

Having learnt that "the Bank of Bengal became the sole medium of nearly all the receipts and payments made on account of Government,[1] it set about an enquiry to ascertain[2] by what gradual steps this cherished consummation could be secured by the Bank of Bengal. It found out that the Bank of Bengal could secure Government money as deposit as the "officers in charge of public money in Bengal were asked to keep accounts with the Bank and send unavoidable balances as deposits to the Bank." Since 26th June, 1928, on which date the said order was passed, several Government officers kept such accounts sending to the bank, treasury orders and drawing against them. The Bank of Bombay took the cue from this necessary hint [3] and made the Government of Bombay issue similar orders to the Military Paymaster, Deputy Commissioner General, Joint Remount Agent, and the General Paymaster to open accounts with [4] the Bank of Bombay. As it thus became the custodian

[1] See para. 3, letter of Mr. G. Ashburner, Secretary of the Provincial Committee of Shareholders to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay, dated 18th January, 1839.

[2] See the letter of Secretary G. W. Bushby to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay, dated 15th July, 1840.

[3] The Acting Secretary of the Bank requests the Governor in Council to issue orders that all officers of the Government may be empowered to open accounts with the Bank of Bombay. See the Financial despatches, Consultation No. 21 of 1840.

[4] See the Financial Notification issued on 20 August 1840.

of the Government balances it must have succeeded in conveying a sense of real security to the public.

Similarly, in the matter of the bank notes and bank post-bills, the procedure adopted by the Bank of Bengal and the practical regulations governing their receipt at the treasury were ascertained before similar regulations were outlined in Bombay. As the notes of the Bank of Bengal were received at all the treasuries in the Lower Provinces and Bengal with the exception of Behar where the Furrackabad Rupee was in circulation, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council issued a notification[1] to the effect that "all collectors, paymasters, other officers of Government receive as cash the notes of the Bank of Bombay when tendered in payment of sums due to Government." On 14th May 1840, it was ordered, "That Bank notes may be issued to those willing to receive them."[2] The following circular letter was issued to the Collectors by the Bombay Government informing them of the way in which they have to dispose of the bank notes received in payment of the public revenues.

"(A) All bank notes received by you in payment of sums due to Government should be carefully kept in an iron or tin box to be placed within the Government treasure chest or any other equally secure place.

(B) A register according to the annexed form should be kept in your office shewing the number, date, and volume of all Bombay bank notes received by you on account of the Government. The daily entries in the register should be countersigned by you. The register should be kept in a place distinct from the notes in order that a double security may exist.[3]

(C) When bank notes have accumulated to the amount of Rs. 5,000 or beyond the quantity required for the ordinary

[1] See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 18th April, 1840.

[2] Letter No. 327 of 1840. See Financial Consultation No. 21 of 1840.

[3] I wonder why the party from whom the note has been received has not been asked to endorse the note at the back. That would have afforded triple security to the Treasury.

expenditure of the Treasury they should be transmitted to the Sub-Treasurer or to such other officer at the Presidency as the Accountant-General may appoint. Each note should be first out in half, the halves being transmitted by succeeding dawks. In order that the contents of the packets containing such notes may not be apparent and that they may be preserved from damp, they should be covered with strong paper during the fair season and with wax cloth during the monsoon.

(D) You should forward to the Accountant-General on the 1st of each month a statement showing the number, date, and amount of the notes in hand on the first of the preceding month and of those received in your treasury during that month and the way in which they have been disposed of."[1]

A Register of the Bank Notes with Specimen Entries.

No. of Note	Date of Note.	Amount of Note.	From whom received.	Date of receipt.	Collector's signature.	How disposed of.	Date of disposal.	Collr.'s Signature.
572	1st of April	Rs. 5,000	A.B.	1840 10th April.	X.Y.Z.	Remitted to General Try.	1st half 2nd half	X.Y.Z.

Evidently, the Bank of Bombay was never asked to deposit a general security for its notes[2] so that the Government might not be the loser in any way by holding the bank notes. Besides, they were freely received at all the treasuries in the Bombay Presidency.[3] This must have led to the popularity of the bank notes and a free circulation of them in the interior.

[1] See the Financial Consultation No. 24th May, 1840.

[2] The Bank of Bengal had to deposit 20 lakhs of rupees deposit as security for its notes. This was given up only in 1832. Financial General Letter from Europe to Bengal No. 2 of 1832.

[3] In the case of the Bank of Bengal a limit of 50 lakhs of rupees was fixed and the G. Treasury could not hold more than this limit. See para. 19, Territorial Finance Department Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government. No. 13 of 1834, dated 12th March, 1834.

A Specimen Bank Note.

The Bank notes were struck from an English plate in England. The following specimen makes the reader familiar with the details of its superscription :—

BANK OF BOMBAY.
15th April 1843.

I promise to pay the Bearer on demand Twenty Rupees value received—

N 4178——Bombay——No. 4178——

Entd. WILLIAM SMYTTTAM, *Acctt.*
Twenty Rupees.

For the Bank of Bombay
(Sd.) J. STUART,
Secretary and Treasurer.

Though the original bank notes issued by the earlier European banks were *order notes* and generally contained the *name of the first payee* the first notes of the Bank of Bombay were bearer notes and the specimen of the bank note which has been quoted already, makes it clear.

How were the Notes received in its Early Stages.

Although the notes of the Bank of Bombay were received as cash at the treasury still a slight discount was attached to them in the bazaar when they were converted into specie. So a notification was issued promptly that " cash can always be obtained at the Bank office for the Bombay Bank notes free of charge" and vernacular translations of the same were published in the Bombay Castle Gazette to the same effect. Guzarattee, Maharatee, and Parsee translations were also issued and circulated in the bazaar.

As soon as the Western Bank of India was started in 1842 keen rivalry ensued as the bank notes of the Western Bank of

India were not received as cash at the Government Treasury.[1] This rivalry was manifested in a somewhat peculiar way. It was usual for rival banks to create unexpected runs by presenting a large amount of notes for ready encashment But the Western Bank of India exhibited its jealousy somewhat in the following manner. The Bank of Western India began to annoy the Bank of Bombay by marking on the face of all these notes "received the Bank of Western India" in a bold style obliterating the original printed letters on the note itself. The Bank of Bombay appealed promptly to the Supreme Government and pleaded for legislative protection against this "wanton annoyance" which resulted in limiting the circulation of such marked notes. In the plenitude of his mercy the Governor General pitied the situation of the Bank of Bombay but refused to take any special action against this "wanton annoyance" and hoped that by a re-issuing of these notes the confidence of the public would be sustained and the rival bank would gain nothing by this "wanton annoyance."[2]

Forgery of the Bank Notes.

Owing to the discovery of the forged notes in the bazaar there was a regular run on the Bank of Bombay for cash in 1848. On 8th November 1848 about two and half lakhs were withdrawn. On 9th November about eleven lakhs were similarly withdrawn. The Government Directors soon took a vigilant attitude and promptly brought the situation to the notice of the Government of Bombay.[3] The Bombay Government stood

[1] A note of the Bank of Western India for Rs. 5,000 was refused by the cashier to be received as cash into the General Treasury. On 5th July 1844 the Governor General in Council approved of the decision of the Bombay Government: "In pursuance of the above instructions received from the Government of India the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that on no account whatever shall any bank notes except those of the Bombay Bank be received at any Government Treasury under this Presidency."

See the Notification of the Government Secretary, W. Escomo, in the Bombay Castle Gazette, 31st July, 1844.

[2] See the Financial Consultation No. 38-1844.

[3] See the Financial Department letter from the Government Directors to W. Courttenay, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

convinced of the absolute necessity to help the bank and wrote strongly to the Government of India as well as the Hon'ble the Court of Directors[1] of its firm resolve to help the bank even against its previous express injunctions against such help to the bank.[2] Fortunately the run subsided and no actual help was rendered by the Government. But the Government never relaxed its duties throughout this period and carefully scrutinised at the end of each day the bank's cash position. Confidence was thus restored by this vigilant attitude of the Government and its readiness to help the bank. The run actually ceased on the 16th instant.

Except during these unfortunate years, 1848, 1849 and 1850, the note of the bank were generally in great demand in the interior. Several times the Provincial Treasuries[3] had to make requisitions for bank notes doubtless to satisfy the requirements of the businessmen. The following tabular statement gives the reader the highest and lowest amount of notes in circulation in each year from the commencement of the Bank in 1840 to the end of 1852 :[4]

[1] See the letter of the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors, dated 30th November 1848 : " In a crisis against which no foresight and no adherence to right principles of management could have saved the Bank the Government is bound to help the Bank. We cannot think were the Bank in difficulty from such a cause and unable to realise its securities and call up outstanding loans in time to meet the demands upon it we should do no wrong in coming to its existence."

[2] See the letter from the Court to the Bombay Government, letter No. 20 written on 23rd December 1845, and see also letter No. 13, dated 22nd September, 1846.

[3] See Financial Letter No. 480 of 1843. The Collector of Belgaum makes a requisition for bank notes. This letter which was addressed to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay was promptly referred back to the Bank of Bombay " so that it might be left to bring its own notes into circulation." See Financial Consultation, No. 19, 16th May 1843.

[4] This table is one of the three annexures showing " the actual operations of the Bombay Bank attached to the report of the Directors of the Bank submitted at a special General Meeting of the Proprietors held on Thursday the 2nd September 1842. This report was submitted to the Bombay Government in order to secure the privilege of conducting exchange or to reduce the capital of the bank by almost one-half.

A Tabular Statement of the Note-issue of the Bank of Bombay.

Year.	Date.	Highest amount in circulation.	Date.	Lowest amount in circulation.
1840	Dec./11	Rs. 2329465	April/15	Commenced business.
1841	Sep./11	,, 3429810	May/29	Rs. 1109335
1842	Dec./4	,, 3381575	June/19	,, 1228510
1843	Dec /30	,, 6354530	April/17	,, 3012595
1844	Jan./30	,, 5972710	Oct./20	,, 3094335
1845	Oct./11,	,, 4955410	Agst./5	,, 3042325
1846	Oct./17	,, 4750985	Agst./15	,, 2564135
1847	Nov./21	,, 5177050	Jun./27	,, 2805300
1848	Aug./29	,, 5882700	Dec./26	,, 2061850
1849	Nov./10	,, 5202680	Jan./6	,, 2434855
1850	Nov./3	,, 5509200	Mar./31	,, 3511425
1851	Dec./15	,, 5157840	May/12	,, 1996070
1852	Aug./27	,, 5831245	May/28	,, 3611005
		Average Rupees 4918093		Average Rupees 2541020

The bank note-issue began to increase steadily during the decade 1850 to 1860. The notes were received freely in the interior and paid into the mofussil treasuries in payment of the Government demand. The following return quoted from the Bombay Government records shows that "there was a large demand for bank notes. Any instance of forgery or fraud or even a suspicion thereof has not yet been reported in reference to bank notes received into or disbursed from the District Treasuries."

Return of Bank Notes in the Several Civil Treasuries of the Presidency on 1st April. 1856.

	Rs.	A.	P.
In the Bombay General Treasury ...	4,66,590	0	0
,, Land revenue—Bombay ...	3,375	0	0
,, Tannah Treasury ...	25,480	0	0
,, Rutnageree Treasury ...	200	0	0
,, Poona ,, ...	3,380	0	0
,, Ahmadnagar ,, ...	560	0	0
,, Candesh ,, ...	2,070	0	0
,, Sholapore ,, ...	14,425	0	0
,, Dharwar ,, ...	5 020	0	0
,, Belgaum ,, ...	340	0	0
,, Ahmedabad ,, ...	1,510	0	0
,, Kaira ,, ...	1,950	0	0
,, Surat ,, ...	3,710	0	0
,, Broach ,, ...	47,280	0	0
,, Hyderabad (Sind) Treasury ...	145	0	0
,, Karachi ,, ...	165	0	0[1]
,, Shikharpore ,, ...	165	0	0
,, Satara ,, ...	165	0	0
Political Agent at Aden ...	9,863	0	0
Commissioner of Customs and Salt and Opium	695	0	0
Total	5,86,760	0	0

The average circulation of the notes increased rapidly during the last few years. It greatly aided the paid-up capital of the Bank which was about fifty-two lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees. Throughout this period of our study, there was no necessity to increase the paid-up capital and we do not come across any such attempt made on the part of the public as was the case in the matter of the Presidency Bank of Madras during this period of our study.

[1] The area of Sind was only recently acquired and added to the Province of Bombay. Hence the note circulation was not so great in these newly acquired portions as in the older areas.

Bank Post-bills.

Even in the matter of the post-bills the practice of the Bank of Bengal guided the Bombay Bank. The Acting Secretary of the Bank of Bombay requested the Governor in Council to give the same facilities to the bank post-bills as were given to the bank note.[1] The Bombay Government immediately ascertained the prevalent practice in the matter and on learning that "in Bengal the Bank post-bills of the Bank of Bengal were receivable at the Provincial Treasuries in payment of dues to the Government so long as it could be done without financial inconvenience or loss of profit obtainable by the sale of Bills drawn by the public officers on such treasuries," similar orders were passed with reference to the Bombay Bank post-bills. These were to be *received in Treasuries on similar terms prevailing in Bengal.*[2]

Guard.

There is still another point which proves my contention. The Bank of Bombay which had to employ a guard to keep watch and ward over its strong room wrote to the Government of India for information concerning the guard employed by the Bank of Bengal. On 22nd April, 1840, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay wrote as follows: "The Bank of Bengal was guarded by a body of regular guards consisting of one Havildar, one Naik and eight sepoys making 10 in number."[3] Undoubtedly a similar guard must have been appointed by the Bank of Bombay to keep watch and ward over its strong building.

Doposits.

Owing to the fact that the Government officers deposited their balances in the Presidency Bank, the general public soon began to

1 See Financial Letter, dated 29th May 1840.

2 See Financial Consultation No. 38-1840, 14th September 1840 (italics mine).

3 See Financial Consultation No. 22, 22nd April 1840. See also Financial Consultation of Fort William, Nos. 8 and 9, April 1840.

patronise the bank, but the first set of depositors took the liberty of altering the cheques and making them payable *to order* instead of *to bearer* thus altering the legal character of the instrument and enforcing additional responsibility on the Bank in respect to the authenticity of the signatures of the endorsers. Present-day Indian banks refuse to permit their customers this privilege to alter the word *bearer* to *order* which can however be done by the drawer of the cheque. The Indian depositors do alter the cheque from *bearer* to *order* but the bank refuses to take any special responsibility for this voluntary change of the nature of the instrument as a result of the initiative on the part of the bank customer. Such cheques are of course paid by the bank, provided they are in order. But it is indeed curious to note that the Bank of Bombay refused to recognise this practice and pay any cheques thus altered by the customer. On 18th April, 1840 the following notification issued in the Bombay Castle Gazette makes this point clear :

" Notice was therefore given to the effect that all cheques paid on the Bank after this date must be drawn conformably with the printed form furnished to constituents and made payable to individuals and firms or *bearer* and not to *order* otherwise they will not be paid."

W. R. CAGILL,
Ag. Secretary and Treasurer.

When the practice of paying such cheques which have been altered to *order* has been introduced has not been mentioned, but it must have been introduced very soon as a result of the protest on the part of the bank customers.

Lottery Deposits.

Just as the other Presidency Banks secured the deposit of lottery money in their cities so also the Bank of Bombay secured the deposit of lottery sums floated in Bombay. Till private

lotteries were abolished in 1844 as a result of Act V of 1844 the indigenous bankers and businessmen used to conduct them so as to secure profit to themselves. The money collected was usually deposited in the Bank of Bombay. The bank was generally appointed as the place where the prize-winners would be receiving their money ten days after the conclusion of the drawing. The paymasters stationed in the mofussil were asked to pay the mofussil prize-holders 30 days after the conclusion of the drawing and after that period from the Presidency Bank of Bombay. Similar practice prevailed at Calcutta and Madras so long as private and public lotteries were allowed unchecked. Lottery tickets were not only made available at the Presidency Banks and the money gathered by the sale of tickets was lying as a deposit in the Presidency Bank but the money prizes were paid at Presidency Banks. In the case of unclaimed prizes for a period of three years the money usually reverted to the Lottery Fund in the case of all the Government Lotteries. The different lotteries were usually advertised in the different Presidencies and in the Bombay Castle Gazette we come across several lottery advertisements, *viz.*, the Second Calcutta Lottery of 1832.[1] In the case of private lotteries the organisers must undoubtedly have pocketed the unclaimed prize money.

Rules and Nature of the Business.

A systematic study of the different pages of the Bombay Castle Gazette reveals to the readers very interesting details as regards the nature of the business and the terms on which such things were usually conducted. The bank commenced business on 15th April 1840, but it issued the following notification in the Bombay Castle Gazette to enable the public to realise on what terms business could be conducted with it.

[1] See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 12th April, 1832, p. 113. Similarly the 54th Government Lottery was floated in 1834 and advertisements of it were published in the Bombay Castle Gazette, 5th February, 1834, p. 51.

[2] See the Notifications in the Bombay Castle Gazette, 8th April, 1840,

The following notification points out, firstly, the nature of its business and, secondly, the rates on which loans and discounts were to be granted by it :

Interest	On loans on Government paper	six per cent.
	On Metals	six and a half per cent.
	On other goods	seven and half per cent.
Discount	On Government Bills	five per cent.
	On private bills	seven and half per cent.

The Directors issue notice that current accounts will be received and fixed deposits received and that no interest will be paid on current accounts.

The bank will issue post-bills payable to order and at not exceeding thirty days' sight.

The bank will realise dividends and interest on Government securities on account of constituents.

The hours of business were published actually on the 10th April, 1840.

The bank was to be open from 10 o'clock before noon till 4 o'clock afternoon.

Proposals for loans will not be received after one o'clock.

Private bills and notes for discounts will not be received after 1 o'clock and they are not to be called for until the day following.

Government and salary bills will be discounted till 3 o'clock.

Post-bills will be issued till 3 o'clock.

All other business is to be transacted till 4 o'clock.

(To be continued)

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

CONVOCATION ADDRESS[1]

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, PRO-VICE-CHANCELLOR,
AND GENTLEMEN,—

When I received an invitation from your Vice-Chancellor, I regarded the request as more in the nature of a command which I had neither the inclination nor the right to disobey. Aligarh is the pride of Moslem India and it is a great honour for any Mussalman to be asked to deliver the Convocation address but to an old boy of Aligarh, it is the height of his ambition and a most treasured privilege. Although it is twenty-one years since I was last in Aligarh, I have always taken a keen interest in it, and the fact that your distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ross Masud, and I were fellow-students in the English house, and that your Pro-Vice-Chancellor is an officer of the Department of Education, Bengal, over whose destinies it is my fortune or misfortune to watch as Minister, made it all the more attractive, and I very willingly responded and accepted the very great honour which you have conferred upon me.

The question of education in India in general, and of the Muhammadan community in particular, are at the present time so acute and their correct solution so very important for the welfare of the country, that it is extremely desirable to envisage these problems from all points of view in order to be as certain as possible of finding their correct and adequate solution. As a community we have to take our part in the development of our motherland, jealous of our own rights but ready to appreciate the rights of others, ready to co-operate in anything that makes for the general welfare and determined that progress and not privilege shall be the keynote of our policy. Education is the solution of almost all the difficult political problems with which we

[1] Delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Nazimuddin, at the Annual Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh, held on Monday, December 21, 1931.

are now faced. I will mention but one example. The ultimate solution of the communal problem is to be found in education. However undesirable and inexpedient it may be, guaranteed representation to the Muhammadan community in all administrative machineries is necessary until such time as the general electorate is educated to the point where, while preserving their own convictions and ideals, individuals can be trusted to judge impartially when choosing their representatives to the different administrative and controlling authorities. The time is far distant, as all must realise; and in any immediate scheme which may be brought into operation, there must and will be reservation of seats for members of our community. We may deplore it, but it is a necessity. In this necessity, however, there lies for us a great danger. The very fact that we have guaranteed representation may serve as an anodyne which will lull us into a false sense of security and prevent us from putting forward those efforts which are necessary, if we are really to justify our holding of positions of responsibility. Modern political authority may give us a form of government in which apparently we have adequate representation, but unless our representatives are equally well-trained, mentally able and fully capable of holding their own with the representatives of other communities, adequate political representation is a delusion and a snare. It is obvious, of course, that for the positions of the highest responsibility we had and have men who challenge comparison with the ablest representative of any community. I have only to mention the names of such distinguished Muhammadans as those of our revered founder, Sir Syed Ahmed, your Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ross Masud, Sir Fazli Husain, Sir Abdur Rahim, and others. As to their ability there can be no question, but Government does not depend so much upon the greatness and superhuman ability of a few individuals placed in positions of great responsibility as upon efficient administration in the multitudinous smaller local bodies, upon whose shoulders must fall the real administration and development of our country. District Boards,

Municipalities, School Boards, and all local controlling authorities are the fields in which administrative experience begins and develops ; and it is for these bodies, as well as for the highest positions, that we require from our community a supply of devoted, unselfish and inspiring leaders, who, while justifying their own position and guaranteeing progress and prosperity to their own community, will at the same time be ensuring the welfare of India as a whole. It is for this reason that in a University like this, it is essential to develop self-reliance, initiative, and logical thinking, and the ability to judge one's self as well as one's fellow-men. These are qualities which are an asset to all, and we welcome here students of other communities, confident that their presence will be beneficial to us as well as to them. At the same time it is apparent that, Aligarh must ever be of special significance to Muslim community and hence the problems of Muhammadan education must be of importance to its authorities. It must be recognized that as a community we have a great deal of educational lee-way to make up, and in the forward movement which is taking place here, and which must rapidly spread elsewhere, it is essential to know exactly what we desire and exactly what we wish to avoid. It is no use multiplying our educational institutions, and increasing educational facilities, unless we can guarantee that they are wisely and rightly guided and that they are fulfilling the purposes for which they are designed.

In determining the direction of this forward move, and the kind of education which we wish to establish, we have to consider not only the examples of successful educational institutions in other lands but also unfortunate examples of disastrous educational experiments in our own country. We see around us the effect of many of the mistakes which have been made by our sister community and we must guarantee that these mistakes are avoided here and elsewhere.

It may seem presumptuous on my part to offer advice to distinguished educationists, whose life-work it is to deal with

educational matters, and to try to influence those who are responsible for the control of an institution with such a distinguished record as this. My only excuse is that it has unfortunately been my lot for the last few years to have had the unpleasant experience of observing the disastrous effects of an educational movement dominated, perhaps unconsciously, by a desire to produce records of quantity rather than graduates distinguished by quality and of finding myself practically hopeless of achieving reform. I come from a province where every year between two and three thousand graduates are turned out in a set of conditions in which there are suitable posts for not more than at the most two or three hundred. What happens to the rest? Many continue their struggle for existence as teachers of schools on salaries for which it is impossible to get well-trained household servant. Many obtain no employment whatever. All become disillusioned, discontented and rebel against society so organised that in it they can find no satisfactory place. It is true, unfortunately, that with industry, commerce and agriculture, in their present conditions, there is no place for the unfortunate 90 per cent. of those graduates. The point that I wish to stress, and from which I desire that a lesson should be drawn and applied in the development of my *alma mater* is, that this 90 per cent., for whom there is no ready-made place in the community, are, with few exceptions, incapable of making for themselves a place by their initiative and exercise of their mental powers. Their School and University training have failed to develop these powers which would serve them in time of need, and enable them by ingenuity and enterprise, not only to make for themselves an honoured place in society but to enrich their motherland by developing new spheres of human activity. For this state of affairs the students are not themselves to blame. Education, which, if it means anything, should mean the development of personality, the healthy growth of the soul as well as the body, the correct training of individual powers, of self-expression through the assimilation of the inherited mental wealth of the ages, has in this country,

with a few honourable exceptions, become a soul-destroying process of memory exercise and a stifling of mental curiosity.

I am not unconscious of the fact that there is another aspect of University life, namely, that of stimulating research and providing facilities for exceptionally gifted people; and lest I be accused of prejudiced and unjust criticism of the work of our Universities, let me acknowledge the great work that has been done in this direction, particularly in the University of Calcutta. The encouragement of research is an important duty of a University but not its only duty. In our consideration of what a University stands for, surely the 99 per cent., who constitute the ordinary students, should command our attention just as much as the one per cent. who by their genius and outstanding abilities would justify themselves in any system and are most capable of looking after themselves.

With the older institutions in the country, it is extremely difficult to achieve adequate reform but with a self-contained and autonomous body such as that which controls the destinies of Aligarh, development upon right lines is certainly possible and must be ensured. I would plead with the authorities to take such steps as will, as far as is humanly possible, avoid all the mistakes that have been made elsewhere and ensure development upon healthy lines. If this is guaranteed, it will have to be realised that it is neither desirable nor wise that all students who study in our secondary schools should go forward to the University. Only those who are mentally able and who can fully benefit by the conditions and facilities to be found within the University, should be allowed to embark upon an under-graduate career. By all means adjust your secondary system so as to make provision for those who will not enter the University. Secondary education should not be entirely dominated by the University curriculum or ideals and it should be a recognised fact that the courses of study and arrangements there are such that many can at the end of that stage branch off into different vocations without the necessity of entering the

University. Only those who are really fit should be permitted to pursue academic studies into the University stages. If this is guaranteed, then one of the most important steps will have been taken, which will lead to a successfully organised and satisfactory University. The same argument, but perhaps to a less extent, dominates the Intermediate College course. A large percentage of those who pass through the course will naturally proceed to the University, but it by no means follows that all should, and arrangements should be made within the Intermediate College for giving a bias to the education of those students who either by desire or natural mental ability do not, or should not, go forward for further study.

It is possible to link up certain aspects of industrial and vocational education with High School and Intermediate College training in a way which should be beneficial to many students. I am not advocating a wholesale transformation of these institutions into Technical Colleges, but merely desire that there should be a practical acknowledgment of the fact that a purely academic course in a University is not the only educational career for a young man and, indeed, is not the only cultural and educational course, which it is possible to devise. I do not intend to pursue this point further, for it is not easy to suggest a definite solution of this particular problem, nor is it intimately related to what I have said to you to-day. There is, however, one further point, at which vocational and technical education affect University policy. There is a wide-spread and growing demand that more attention should be devoted to technical matters and less to what are known as purely academic pursuits. It is certain that in India, developments in the direction of scientific and technical education must take place. To me it is just as certain that this development must in the main be without and not within the Universities. In the first place, technical and vocational education is so expensive that it is impossible for any University satisfactorily to deal with the problem of initiating and developing adequate schemes. What is needed is

a central institution or institutions adequately equipped, controlled and organised to supply the needs of the different provinces and of India as a whole. There is no reason why a system of Provincial Scholarships tenable at centralised institutions, should not be established. This seems to me to be the basis of an economic and sound solution of the problem of specialised technical training. Such a solution is far preferable to that of attempting to transform our Universities into hybrid institutions possessing neither the cultural value of the Universities of old nor the technical efficiency of an industrial enterprise. Even as far as scientific education is concerned, expense prohibits full development in all directions except in the largest Universities. Purely scientific education we must have for its cultural as well as its technical value within all Universities. But very specialised development involving elaborate and adequate equipment for detailed research in all branches is not possible in all institutions. Moreover, as far as vocational education is concerned, I do not personally consider that unless it can be adequately combined with a satisfactory general education in all branches, it should find a place within a University. To give degrees for, say, the Art of Salesmanship,—as has been done in certain Universities,—appears to me to be destroying the ideals which have hitherto always been associated with Universities and bringing them down to the level of a commercial college.

It must not be assumed that I am inappreciative of the value of technical education or of the necessity for making provision for it in the activities of any Government. No country to-day can hope to establish itself in the forefront of progress or to provide for its citizens such facilities as will enable them fully to apply their powers, unless it gives adequate attention to the problems of technical and vocational education. But these problems must not be regarded as an essential part of, or inevitably related to, the question of University education. The atmosphere and characteristics of the two types of institutions are entirely different and it has yet to be proved that their mixture

is beneficial either to the one or the other. Personally I feel that the Universities have a unique and special function to perform in the life of a nation and that this function can only be fulfilled when an emphasis is laid upon mental training rather than upon requiring a knowledge of facts and it is acknowledged that intellectual development is the goal rather than the acquisition of manual skill and a mastery over the material world. This is a material world, I know, and we have evidence in all directions of the power and progress that come through a mastery of the laws governing material forces and the acquiring of skill in harnessing them for human progress. But there is still, and ever must be, a place for the consideration of things of the spirit and of the soul, and that place is within the University. There are times in the lives of all human beings when the exercise of imagination is as important as a realisation of facts. It is in the imaginative wanderings among the spirits of the past, in speculations upon the meaning of life and in a critical study of the wonders of natural laws that the soul and mind of man find natural food and environment for growth. It is because I fear that this growth may be stunted by yielding to the clamour for extension of University activities in definitely material directions that I have spoken at length upon what I consider to be the separate functions that technical and University institutions should play in the life of a nation. There is, I think, no danger in your University that rapid developments in the direction of technical and vocational education will prejudice your real University life. I refer to them merely to emphasize what should be the dominating spirit in your University organisations and developments. Within the University it must be ensured that the general intellectual and mental capacity of the undergraduates are given full scope for development. It must be realised that it is not so much an assimilation of facts as the understanding of the principles which teachers must emphasize, not so much a knowledge of what the brain has achieved as a comprehension as to how the mind works and what are the factors

which affect human progress and human actions, which are of importance to the undergraduates. Each individual Professor is, of course, jealous of the importance of his own subject and naturally regards it as pre-eminently useful and necessary in student life. The authorities as a whole, however, should be aware, that it is not of very great importance as to what particular subjects the ordinary student studies, so long as he is taught to study them, and they are presented to him, in such a manner as to develop his powers of understanding and analysis, and of application of the principles involved. The same effect can be achieved through the teaching of Physics or Philosophy, History or Mathematics, Classics or Science. Even in the playing of games, in the debating halls and in the many activities outside the lecture rooms, a similar training can be provided and indeed, not infrequently, a more effective influence can be exercised. From the point of view of the general influence that it has exercised upon its students, I am proud of my old University. Aligarh has given to its sons in times past a general tone and bearing which may perhaps be summed up in the French phrase *savoir faire*, and which, as far as I am aware, is not so effectively developed in any other Indian University. It is my hope that this particular influence may never be lost and that in the progress in purely academic development which must take place and which I hope may be rapid, it must not be forgotten that we shall be losing more than we gain if the Aligarh graduates ever become men whose qualifications are purely academic and technical.

It is usual in a Convocation address to concentrate one's attention upon a message to those students in whose special interest such a function as this is held, namely, those who have obtained their degrees.

GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY,—

This is a day of special significance for you all. By conferring degrees upon you, the University has set its hall-mark upon

your student careers and is sending you into the world, not only certifying you as having attained a certain standard of efficiency in academic pursuits but also as guardians of the reputation and the tradition of this your mother University. Yours is a difficult but enviable task. It is no exaggeration to say that in the next 20 years, the future greatness and position of India will be made or marred by the ability and devotion which is shown by her leaders. Upon you rests the responsibility of guiding others and of making use of the powers which have been developed within you. It is during these coming years that the real value of your educational training will be tested. You will be called upon to discriminate between the passionately advocated claims of different classes and communities, to reconcile apparently divergent and opposite points of view and to decide upon the courses of action which affects the lives of your fellow-countrymen. It is needless to say that a sane and impartial judgment is necessary and that in order to exercise this impartial judgment, a knowledge of facts appertaining to your own community is essential. It will be necessary for you to appreciate the part that emotion plays in determining the individual's course of action ; and in particular, it will be essential for you to realise that unrestrained and uncontrolled emotionalism is one of the greatest enemies of human progress. We look to you, who have had training in logical thinking and the opportunity to realise that there is room for different opinions and different beliefs in all spheres of human activity, to guide the destinies of our country sanely and effectively. We look to you to counteract the effect of those who, inappreciative of the facts of the present situation, are advocating courses of action which must mean retrogression instead of progression. To the Muslim community, in particular, Aligarh has meant much in the past. That it means as much in the present and will mean as much in the future, I am confident. On the shoulders of you, Muslim graduates, there rests a double responsibility. You have to carry on worthily the tradition of culture and learning which is characteristic of all that is best

in our Muslim heritage. History has given us our great men with their undying achievements and we can look with glory and pride on the past. But it is in the present and future that our hope lies. Inspired by the deeds of the past we look to you to build up for us a still more glorious future by service and selfsacrifice.

MOON MAGIC

See, Dear Love, the moon hangs low
Above the song-hushed trees,
Gently the fragrant breezes blow
Whither, and where, they please.
But cradled in my arms you lie
A vision of rose and cream,
Together there, as the hours speed by,
We sit alone and dream.

Smile on, my Fairest Love, the moon
Hangs crescent in the sky,
And I long to hear your sweet lips croon
A " yes " to the theme I ply.
Then I will fold you to my breast
And come then weal or woe,
Secure in each other's love we'll rest,
Thus through Life to go!

LELAND J. BERRY

Reviews

A History of England—from 1485 to 1900 A.D. By Sir Henry Sharp (Macmillan—pp. 311+xi)

This is a book admirably suited for the higher classes in Indian secondary schools. The author has followed the syllabus in English History laid down in Bombay for the School Leaving Examination. The narrative begins from the Tudor period, but an introductory section rapidly surveys the History of England from pre-Roman days to the reign of Henry VII. The author is to be congratulated for being able to indicate in very simple language the main lines of development. What repels the young beginner and gives him a distaste for the study of history is the treatment of the subject as a mere catalogue of events. Yet the knowledge of the past is absolutely necessary for the mental equipment of the future citizen. The task before us therefore is to make history less formidable for young learners and to create in them a fondness for this branch of knowledge. Sir Henry Sharp is one of those who have succeeded in omitting details, and presenting in lucid style suited to the school boy the fundamental facts in the history of England, indicating the characteristics of each period and the progress made in that period, the rise of sea power and colonial expansion, and the development of the constitution. Chapter XXI on the British constitution is a very useful feature of the book. The book has been made attractive by copious illustrations and its utility increased by maps. It should provide the school student with a good grounding in English history.

A. D.

Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments—Vol. II, 1926-28. Geneva, 1930. pp. 204.

Memorandum on International Trade and Blances of Payments—Vol. II, 1927-29. Geneva, 1931, pp. 215.

These volumes deal with the balance of international payments for 29 countries. The statements are based on a special standard form prepared by the League of Nations Secretariat. The facts and figures

are strictly in conformity with the items mentioned in the standard form. Summary figures of international indebtedness are also tacked on as supplementary information to the main items dealing with the balance indebtedness.

The two detailed tables for each and every country consist of (1) current items, (2) capital account. Though the figures of table II are tentative and generally of a preliminary estimate a bird's eye view of the country's financial position in the world can be had.

The growth of knowledge in this direction is serviceable in many ways. The analysis of international exchange of goods and services is by itself of great importance. The state of the lending and borrowing countries and the respective estimates of their economic progress would be of invaluable aid to the economists.

Every reader should make a comprehensive study of the summary statement concerning certain items mentioned in the memorandum before he can hope to understand the suggestions forthcoming out of the different tables mentioned therein.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1930-31. pp. 292. Geneva, 1931.

The most important economic categories such as population, production. estimates of different staple crops, minerals, figures of shipping and railways, public finance, price-levels and monetary statistics are carefully tabulated in a clear and concise form. The statistics of these tables are brought up to the end of the year 1930.

The new tables on the production of certain commodities, marriage rates, index numbers of shares, unemployment by classes of industry and the metal content of the ores extracted are to be welcomed.

Several geographical maps prepared from well-known atlases gather reliable sources of information and impart useful knowledge to the readers.

These data would be of immense service to the economists in the matter of their international comparisons and estimates.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Report of the Congress Select Committee on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India, Vol. I, Bombay, 1931. Price Re. 1, pp. 70.

The insecurity of the financial position of this country was recognised long ago by Indian economists of all shades of thought. The existence of large fixed interest charge has proved burdensome. Of late India has been increasing her indebtedness both for the short-term period and the long-term period. Increasing amounts of foreign short-term capital are being locked up in Rupee Treasury bills for the retention of which Indian banking is being subjected to high rates of interest as soon as a change in the world financial centres is taking place.

India is also becoming a greater borrower on long-term account. So the unanimous opinion is that before the financial position of India as a debtor country becomes grave some heroic remedies ought to be resorted to. The Karachi Congress appointed a committee to scrutinise the financial obligations between India and Great Britain. Ever since the three D's (Digby, Dadabhai and Dutt) or the 'dismal' school of Indian Economists wrote in a strained manner, the opinion has gained ground that India has been saddled unjustly with large blocks or amounts of public debt incurred for the political aggrandisement of Great Britain without the direct assent of the Indian people. The Karachi Congress has not only been anxious to secure satisfactory opinion on this issue but it was equally anxious to knock down the opinion that a wholesale repudiation of the public debt would take place under "purna swaraj" government.

Part I and Part II of the Report deal with the objectionable items of the public debt and Part III emphasises the recommendation that there ought to be an honourable settlement between Great Britain and India as in the case of the United Kingdom and Ireland when it was made a Free state. Estimating that Rs. 229 crores were not incurred in the economic interests of the country either during the time of the John Company's rule or under the regime of the British Crown it makes an earnest appeal that India should be freed of these liabilities under the heading of public debts.

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa writes a separate note to the effect that part of the annual national military expenditure of India is for the promotion and safeguarding of the Empire interests of Great Britain. Equity demands that these funds should be returned to India. The suggestion is hinted that the mere return of interest already paid on the "unjust charges and burdens" would wipe off the whole of the present-day public debt of the country.

The inclusion of Famine Relief charges as an expensive burden thrust on Indian shoulders seems to the reviewer rather unjust and although money might have been spent extravagantly it cannot be stated that India has not been benefited.

On the whole this fact-finding estimate clearly shows that certain unduly heavy charges have been fastened on this country. Whether India ever succeeds in reclaiming these lost resources is totally a different matter.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

A New D.Sc.

Mr. C. N. Srinivasiengar, M.Sc., is admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on his thesis entitled "The Determination of Singular Solutions of various types of Differential Equations, together with some associated problems of Differential Geometry."

* * *

The Next Annual Convocation of the University

Saturday, the 6th February, 1932, has been fixed as the date for the next Annual Convocation of the University.

* * *

Result of the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, November, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination, was 53 of whom 33 passed, 18 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

* * *

Result of the First M.B. Examination, November, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 104 of whom 49 passed, 53 failed, 1 was expelled and 2 were absent.

* * *

Result of the Second M.B. Examination, November, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 77 of whom 64 passed, 12 failed, none were expelled, 1 was absent. Four have obtained Honours marks.

* * *

Result of the Third M.B. Examination, November, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 85, of whom 54 passed, 31 failed, none was expelled, none was absent.

* * *

Result of the Final M.B. Examination, November, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) was 182 of whom 60 passed, 121 failed, 1 was absent and none was expelled.

* * *

A New Readership Lecture

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that Dr. Anna Singh, Executive Secretary of the International University Service of Germany and a visiting Professor of Visvabharati, be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on the following subjects on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000 :—

(1) International Student Service—A modern University movement.

(2) Ideas and Methods of University Education in Germany (with special reference to the new facilities for study of foreign students in Germany).

(3) Problems and Movements of the Students of Germany (including an account of the student self-help movement after the War).

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1932

A NEW THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

In these days of transition, when the belief is widespread that the use of destructive methods for the settling of disputes has already been too prolonged and efforts are being made to re-arrange the affairs of the nation and the world, the study of politics becomes of vital import to those building for, preparing for, the New Age.

Which way are we to look in order to find newer, wiser, methods of administering the affairs of the world and of the State especially of the great Indian Empire.

Government is at present a word sounding somewhat harshly in the ears of Indian men and women, who rightly think themselves worthy of being given at least the opportunity to govern for themselves, to administer their own affairs both as a country and as regards their national relationship with other countries, to evolve, that is, a true political economy.

But what is true political economy ? From the point of view of the writer, political economy is the method of safeguarding the resources of a State in such a manner that it shall provide for the needs and the safety of every man, woman and child, and not only for their needs and their protection, but also for the best development of each individual through right education, decent environment and just laws.

Dare we say that we have such political economy today ? Rather, must we not admit that many lack even the necessaries of life, that conditions of work and of environment are often such as to stifle all the finer instincts of human beings, that the great majority fail to attain any appreciable level of achievement solely because the opportunities for self-development through right education and helpful environment were never given them?

Even the attempt to fashion a newer, better condition of things seems doomed to failure. There is much talk—how much gets *done* ? The very word " politician " has lost the pure meaning it once had and become to some a word of evil omen, an unsavoury and ridiculous title at best. And this is inevitable, whilst those who claim it for themselves remain too often mer place-seekers, men to whom the welfare of the people mea little, the placing of themselves in the seat of power, everythin

A dispassionate survey of the whole situation leads us the conclusion that in these chaotic days the world is only j emerging from infantile forms of government by power, forms which, however necessary they may have been during the infancy of the races concerned, must now give place to forms suited to the more highly developed mind of man. It is necessary to extricate ourselves from the web woven around us during the ages of our mental infancy. All are responsible for it, in a greater or lesser degree, it is true, and all who wish to help forward the dawn of a New Age have to reckon with and share in the mistakes of the whole race. No one can stand aside and say : " I had no part in this." Each must accept his share of the guilt and help find the way out. Ours is the duty to discover the new way, to think ourselves into the evolutionary plan as it is laid down by the Ruler of the Universe, the Manu, and to give expression outwardly to the form needed for the unfoldment of the stages we are now entering on.

We English pride ourselves on our Parliamentary system, asserting that ours is the Mother of Parliaments and that all nations copy our forms. This last is true to a certain extent,

but it must not be forgotten that these forms are only the *least* evil of all forms of administration. They are by no means perfect. Indeed, to those who look ahead, Parliament appears as merely in its babyhood at present. It may well become a flourishing institution as it broadens out into something more plastic and less rigid. If only the heart of it be changed and its latent ideals asserted, if only the individuals who form its component parts be men characterised by high sincerity of purpose and capable of giving expression to the light that is in them, then Britain will rise supreme in service to the world, giving a lead to the Great Parliament of Nations that must some time grow out of the present League of Nations.

Whatever the faults of the past, we *are* a people who love freedom, both for ourselves and for those dependent on us. True, India has not yet received it at our hands, although she must ultimately do so, halt on the way how we will. The forward-flowing tide of evolution is strong and pushes us steadily ahead; now a fierce and almost unmanageable current approaches and it will be well to watch carefully and strive to guide it into safe channels, else will it burst all bounds, working havoc near and far.

The idea of government in the sense of dogmatic control or repression must be forgotton, both as regards the affairs of our own country and of the countries linked with us, and the endeavour made to think out and work out a newer and truer form of administration. This must be done for the good of the whole Empire and not for the benefit of any special country or any special class.

It is obvious that some more practical method of administration will grow out of the present chaos created by Parliamentary opportunism as men see the next steps in social order and international relationship. But for this, real statesmen are required—not political place-seekers and wire-pullers, but men of pure intent who understand the art of administering the affairs of a nation and who *have been trained for that purpose and to that*

end. They should, that is, be as fully qualified for their job as the skilled engine-driver is qualified for his. One can scarcely say that that condition of things obtains today.

It may well be asked how a training in statesmanship could be obtained. It seems to the writer that some such system as the following may well be found necessary in the near future :

A beginning should be made with the affairs of a village or town, for those who know how to administer the affairs of a town or village, will find such knowledge a useful stepping-stone to the understanding of the wider administration demanded in national work. Men and women elected to the councils should be of varying classes and types, so that their collective wisdom, producing a synthesis, may enable them to arrive at the fullest possible degree of understanding of the problems with which they will be called upon to deal. Such knowledge would be mainly applied to the development of agriculture and manufactures, and the councils would be expected to seek ways and means to improve the lot of the workers within their area, by arranging Workers' and Employers' committees and calling board meetings at which both employees and employers should voice the findings of their respective committees. These boards would sit as occasion required, adjust grievances, hours of work, etc., etc.

The election of town councillors could, until a better system be devised, take place under a form of adult suffrage, property votes having no special place in the scheme and only actual residents within the area having the right to vote, on the principle of one vote to each adult, of whatever sex.

The administration of affairs should be recognized as a science, and there should be a school or training centre for those who wish to participate in this, the beginning of statesmanship. To this end, children whose minds turn in this direction should be sent to such a training centre and there taught and trained in such matters, being, when proficient in their knowledge of village and town affairs, drafted to a special college in which the more highly specialised training for administration would be given

them. Such training centres and colleges should be free, without distinctions of any kind, to all who desire to serve the community in this manner, and it is from the fully trained members of such colleges that town and village councillors would be elected and from these only.

After two years' service on a town council, members who elect to extend their work of administration should have opportunities given them to prepare themselves as candidates for the National Council of Parliament. This National Council, or Parliament, would be limited in its activities, in that only the affairs of the nation itself would be discussed.

An examination would be necessary before the degree of P.N.C., or Prospective National Councillor, could be conferred. This would include a knowledge of the *true* principles of Political Economy, of Production and Distribution, History, Geography, Geology, Mining, Agriculture and Manufactures ; and the degree would be conferred not only on those who attained a stipulated degree of proficiency in these subjects as a whole but also on those who showed such proficiency in special subjects as would warrant their being sufficiently useful to deal successfully with the work required of candidates for the National Council.

Under such a system as this, only those versed in the art of administration and thoroughly conversant with the intricacies of village, town and city affairs, would be eligible for membership in the National Parliament. This would do away with the present anomalous condition of things, in which men who understand little or nothing of their own problems get themselves into Parliament in order to deal with the problems of other cases whom they do not understand !

After five years of experience on the National Council of Parliament, members should have gained sufficient knowledge of affairs and attained a sufficient degree of statesmanship to entitle them to be called in to help administer the affairs of the Empire and international matters generally. Presuming that they knew, as they could scarcely fail to do after such a preparation and such

experience, that *growth* is the law governing all things, they would all this time have been training themselves for this more difficult and wider work upon international lines. They would have sought to understand the different histories, policies, politics, affairs and aims of the countries they would be called upon to deal with. Hence they would, when the time come, be found to have the necessary knowledge and understanding of international matters, coupled with such proficiency in statesmanship as would justify their election as members of the Supreme Parliament. This Supreme Parliament would deal solely with international affairs, and election to it would be by universal suffrage, only those being eligible for membership who had undergone five years' practical training as members of the National Parliament.

A certain number of members of this Supreme Parliament would need to be elected by the members themselves, for Parliament alone could be expected to know fully the capacities of those giving their services to the country. In this way, there would be no possibility of good men being overlooked by the electorate, which, naturally, cannot know all details of work done, and might through lack of such knowledge return mediocre men for posts demanding highly specialised abilities. The wisest statesmen are sometimes unknown to the country, but they are *not* unknown to their own colleagues, hence the necessity for Parliament to have the power to co-opt those known to be worthy of such honour.

Objections to such a scheme as this may be raised on the grounds that it would produce a caste of statesmen. It is to be hoped that it would! More could certainly be expected of a body of men trained in this or similar fashion than is possible under the present haphazard system, or lack of system. Does anyone seriously imagine that better work could be done by mere place-seekers, carpet-baggers and nondescript "politicians" who understand as little of the haunting fear, the soul-destroying sense of impotence, that grips the worker as he thinks of old age and of

the unemployment that may claim him to-morrow as they do of the glorious traditions and national ideals of countries other than their own. Yet what aim can a true political economy have save the building of such forms as shall best release the inner and higher life of individuals and nations by setting it free from present inhibiting factors? Let us face the fact at once, that for adequate dealing with these things, for the evolving of a true national world economy, men have to be trained, and trained in the practical school of experience, and have to be elected, not on the strength of party or personal cries and opinions, but on the strength of work accomplished, understanding demonstrated, statesmanship displayed.

Nor need the adoption of such a system stand in the way of the capable man who, late in life, is anxious to enter parliamentary life. Such ambition would, under such a system of government, be seen as useless save where there existed an unselfish motive and practical ability, since merit and service alone would carry a man into the higher positions. In the event of such a man deciding to enter the political field, all that would be necessary for him would be to take a short course of training and to pass the ordinary examination. His worldly knowledge would be taken into consideration, and provided he could pass the usual examination, the preparatory stages of village, town and city councils might be omitted. Such examination would be free to any one who chose to offer himself and would qualify the person to stand as candidate for the National Parliament, or Council. But only those who had served five years on the National Council would be eligible for entrance into the Supreme Parliament.

So much, then, for the system as applied to national and international affairs. A word is, however, necessary regarding the supreme administrative body. A Parliament, however wide its scope, cannot easily manage the many details of government, cannot spare the time to deal with the minutiae of every matter that comes up for settlement. Indeed, why should it? Given

an agreed and general policy, it seems certain that the working out of details are best left in the hands of a special body of highly experienced men, a small, select council under a President or King, whose decisions would be final. But—and here is the important point—it must not be a bureaucracy, practically elected by itself, nor a little family party, such as we have to-day, under a Prime Minister, practically self-chosen or chosen by Party or newspaper intrigue. What is needed is a supreme body of trained and tried men who have worked their way up the ladder of parliamentary life and gained the experience that has made of them statesmen capable of the difficult task of administering the affairs of a State, both in its national and international aspects.

Under such men, tried and trusted statesmen of proved integrity, whose sincerity of purpose and capacity for service is beyond doubt, it is certain that the State could not but flourish and that it would produce, in ever-increasing numbers, the higher type of individual, fitted for the communal life that has already begun to dawn.

Rising out of the present chaos and to rise in actually out of the solutions that must be found to it, we find the idea of a Great Parliament of the world. This has been spoken of by many prophets—not forgetting the poet Tennyson—and it is the part of the Divine Plan of Evolution to which the world-wide political chaos of the present is inevitably leading us. And the training of statesmen through the school of Village, Town, City, National and Supreme Councils will prepare the way for this greater thing, the Great Parliament of nations which will keep the peace of the world, adjust disputes, and make international laws in accordance with the newer, wider, ideal of human fraternity now evident in all peoples.

The members of this Great Parliament would be selected from amongst the wisest in the Supreme Council of each country, and these would be sent by their respective nations as delegates to the Parliament of the World.

By some such system as this outlined here, we should usher in once more the rule of the wise, and a new understanding of human brotherhood and solidarity would grow up in the world. The ideas of repression and coercion, of inferiority and superiority, would gradually disappear. The love of gain for the sake of gain and the individualism that is self-seeking would give way to a form of society ordered in accordance with the known facts of nature, a society founded on first an intuitive understanding and later an increasing and actual knowledge of the fact of brotherhood, on, that is, the recognition of all men as one human family.

And is not that the goal in view?

LEONARD BOSMAN

CYPRESS

The cypress is a silent cry
Of earth that wants to be the sky.

FREDERICA BLANKNER

MEASURES FOR RAISING THE WORLD LEVEL OF PRICES—STATED AND EXAMINED.

Summary.

In this paper an attempt has been made to examine the various proposals, that have been put forward for raising the present level of world prices. Difficulties in the way of international banking co-operation are pointed out, but at the same time, emphasis is laid upon the fact, that as far as Europe is concerned, protection, which has been recommended as an alternative remedy for raising the existing level of prices, has its limitations. Protection, and Currency depreciation in the case of territorially big countries, are then discussed, and emphasis is laid on the interdependence of prices of manufactured goods and agricultural commodities. Towards the close of the paper, rehabilitation of silver is suggested, as correcting and supplementing the work of Protection, especially in Eastern Countries, in raising the level of prices.

Raising the level of World-prices is the great problem facing economists and statesmen to-day. There are a number of measures which might be undertaken for achieving this object. In U. S. A., the credit policy of the F. R. Board has aimed at the same object. Private businesses have also for some time been engaged in the task of supplementing the work of the F. R. Board, by calculating further buying possibilities and planning or reducing further production. In this connection, the credit policy of the American Federal Reserve System is significant. Whereas the old credit policy, aimed at ensuring that the discount rate should definitely follow the market. American policy has set before it, as its objective, the manipulation and stabilization of business, to a certain extent by the discount rate, and more especially through open market operations.

There is difference of opinion as to the extent to which, the F. Reserve system has been successful. The Federal Reserve Bulletin for 1928 admits that the policies, which the F. R. Board had pursued in 1927, were responsible for a considerable amount of speculative activities on the Stock Exchange during that year. The fact is that "Credit policy, as an instrument of economic policy, is futile, unless and until it is able to steer the flow of credit, in a particular direction, as well as increase or diminish its volume."

Though left to themselves the Central Banks have not been able to raise the level of prices (to a certain extent, as the majority report of the Macmillan Committee points out, this has been due to the liquidity of the reserve requirements regarding note issues of Central Banks), by international Co-operation, amongst the Central Banks of the world, the existing supply of gold, can be made to go a good deal further. One of the most important recommendations of the Macmillan Committee, is that there should be international Co-operation amongst the Central Banks of the world in the matter of economizing gold reserves and creation of fresh credit, with a view to raise the world-level of prices. Doubts have been quite justifiably cast on the feasibility of such international Co-operation. The interests of different countries are different, and measures taken to stabilize employment in one country (say, for protection) have often led to different measures, in another country. Further for successful co-operation amongst Central Banks of the world we assume that Central Banks, in their respective countries, dominate their money-markets. Now, notably, in the case of England (as the Macmillan Committee has pointed out) the Bank of England has not been able to control, effectively, operations in the money-market. Dr Keynes (Money, Vol. II) also points out, how the banking organization in England has been neither able to control the investment operations of Englishmen abroad, nor the short-term investments of foreigners in England. "In fact the Bank of England, does

not know whether London's short-term liabilities to foreigners are increasing or decreasing. Yet it must be impossible for the Bank of England to manage its open operations, efficiently without this information. It is, as if, the head office of a Bank were to manage its policy, and maintain its reserves, without any regular source of information as to the volume of its deposits or whether they were increasing or decreasing. Keynes (Money, Vol. II,). Even assuming that the recommendations made in the majority report of the Macmillan Committee for strengthening the Bank of England are carried out, so that it might more effectively co-operate with the other Central Banks of the world, it is doubtful whether maintaining up to the liquidity of note-reserves will lead to sensible increase in the price-level. Banking enthusiasts, of late, have been apt to overstress the influence of Banking policy or price-level ; just as in earlier years Currency enthusiasts overstressed the influence of Currency on prices. It may be conceded at once, that banking policy in modern times has greater influence than Currency. But great value must also be attached to the position taken up by Dr. Keynes, that unless and until the banking organizations of the world control both foreign and domestic investment operations, they are not likely to exercise much influence on the depressed price-level, at present. As it is, habit and organization play a very important part, in the direction of foreign lending, and very often high direct taxation at home has been known to affect the relative proportions of home and foreign investments. I should like to stress the recommendations made in the minority report of the Macmillan Committee, rather than the majority report, for raising the present level of prices.

The majority report recommends a policy of thorough-going protection, for Great Britain, as likely to lead to a rise in the price-level.

We, thus, have apparently two sets of recommendations, made in the same report, rather contradictory in their nature : Economic Internationalism and Economic Nationalism. But

they are only apparently contradictory. The pursuit of a policy of protection, alongside of financial rapprochement assumes to the manufacturer at home his home-market, so that there is at once a stimulus to borrow and a stimulus to use it, for the purpose for which such credit has been made available. It is not difficult to understand the reasons behind the memorandum on Fiscal Policy issued in 1930, in England. The cost of labour in England has greatly increased, mainly because of trade-union restrictions and of the growing expenditure on social services, like unemployment insurance, to which the employers also contribute. Protection however of the home-market, one of the most important planks in the conservative platform, is an anathema to the Labour Party, as by raising the cost of living, it would be a reduction in the real wages of labour.

As between the three alternative suggestions put forward in the Macmillan and May Committee reports—International Co-operation (1) amongst the Central Banks of the World, (2) Borrowing additional Credits from abroad, (3) Protection, The National Government has not chosen to adopt any one alternative.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has adopted—rather has been forced to adopt—the suspension of the Gold Standard. This measure is certainly one way of raising the level of prices, but it is not without its harmful consequences, especially in the directions of causing inconvenience to foreign depositors in England, and a certain loss in the financial prestige of Great Britain. It seems to me, that a more satisfactory measure which European countries could have adopted, is that of protection. Protection would seem to be inevitable, especially if the financing of rationalized industries is undertaken as a whole by banks. "At the time when industries are undergoing rationalization, they are very much like a lobster, without its shell, and they need safeguarding while they are going through the metamorphosis." There are obviously certain obstacles to the pursuit of a policy of Protection, at least in the countries of Europe. For one

thing, Post-War Europe, split up into tiny little countries, is quite different from Pre-War Europe, and if Protection is to be successful at once, it is best that it is adopted by fairly big countries, like India, or China or U. S. A. This possibly explains why suspension of the Gold Standard—ultimately this means currency depreciation—has been undertaken in order to obtain protective effects for home, without the consequence of an increase in the cost of living. As far as we are concerned it is best that we rely more on a policy of protection than on a policy of currency depreciation, *i.e.*, depreciation of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies especially, now that the rupee has been officially linked to a depreciated and depreciating sterling. As a rule, protection as a remedy for the depressed price-level, is to be preferred to currency depreciation ; for in the case of the former, it is generally easier to estimate the results.

Moreover, currency depreciation has often in the history of the world, meant a certain amount of loss in the financial prestige of the country resorting to it, whereas a scheme of scientifically contrived import duties is often an indication, in modern times, of the growing industrial strength of the country.

We come, then to the following conclusion : —

(1) That as far as Europe is concerned, because of the existing territorial distribution of political units, the remedy for the present economic malady seems to lie in international co-operation amongst the Central Banks of the world.

(2) That protection in such countries as India or U. S. A. with a diversity of wealth, is likely to be successful.

In the case of such countries, as China, U. S. A. or India, schemes of all-round protection, both for agriculture and industries, are likely to be very efficacious as an agent for raising the level of prices of only manufactured goods. But the heart of the problem lies in agriculture, and it is highly doubtful if protection will raise agricultural prices substantially. For one thing, imports of agricultural countries are as yet not alarming,

so that the establishment of Protection would be, more or less, in the nature of mobilization of forces against an imaginary enemy in a country. Better results will certainly flow from the adoption of a policy of restriction of production in agriculture, or increase of marketing facilities for agricultural produce. To restrict production in agriculture in Europe, or British India where it is carried on mostly by peasants, is not easy. The depression, in the case of agricultural produce (which is greater than that of manufactured goods) is closely bound up with the future of silver. There are a number of reasons why the practicability of Bimetalism, should be fully explored at present ; the remonetization of silver is not really so "fantastic," as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald referred to in the proposal, in the House of Commons, recently. The purchasing power of silver, when it increases, is certain to have repercussions on gold-standard countries, which they might think undesirable. But that is no reason why we should not fully explore the practicability of the various measures for the rehabilitation of silver.

If silver is not actually remonetized restriction or regulation of the output of silver would seem to be necessary, if the level of agricultural prices is to be raised at all. Protection *per se* cannot obviously achieve this purpose. And unless the level of agricultural producerises simultaneously or prior to the level of prices of manufactured goods, there is no likelihood of the world-level of prices being raised one writer has recently, in the Indian Economic Journal (July 1931, p. 81), come to the conclusion " that an international agreement to have silver for monetary purposes would be a backward step ; and all that can be done to pacify the silver interests is to arrange for a more judicious way of disposing of the unwanted silver, by the respective Governments, by means of making them accept the open tender system for the sale of silver, so that industrial requirements, might be satisfied in this matter."

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. L. S. Amery, however, in the Nineteenth Century (September, 1931), has pointed out that if only

"the British Government would agree to attend, or convene, an international Conference on silver, announcing at the same time that it meant, in any event, to take definite action itself, there is little doubt of its securing the requisite decisions." It has been sometimes stated in the Press, that the fall in prices has been due to excessive production. As a matter of fact it is not so. It has been brought about mostly by Government action. Some recent articles in the Journal of Political Economy have stressed the fact that since the War "the production from the mines has never equalled the demand ; and as the shrinkage in the supply of silver, from 1920 to 1930 (compared with that of 1910-1920), has been converted into surplus, by selling off demonetized silver by the Indian and French Indo-Chinese Governments regarded as a business proposition, there ought not to be the slightest difficulty, in doubling the price of silver, if only the Government of India should declare that it would not sell any of its silver under less than a certain price.

The Rt. Hon'ble L. S. Amery (Nineteenth Century, September, 1931) is perhaps quite right in saying, that Economy, just at present, is quite a secondary objective. To the extent to which it reduces waste, and enables reduction of taxation of businessmen, it is certainly well worth having. But ultimately attention should be concentrated on more important policies, like protection, or resuscitation of silver. "A National Government in England should not stand for economy as such for after all such a policy is at best of a defensive character. It should maintain a fairly high wage-standard, and lend no countenance to sweating the public, or private, as the way to salvation."

We thus come to the following sets of conclusions :

(1) That for preventing the breakdown of the Gold Standard steps should be taken, either to prevent maldistribution of gold, or to economize gold either by changes in domestic banking policy or by co-operation with the other Central banks of the world, or both.

(2) That two most important steps for ensuring economy of

gold, would be rehabilitation of the price of silver, and building up of favourable trade balance by increase of export trade.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out, from the standpoint of the immediate future a rise of prices, if it can be achieved, is preferable to a cutting of money costs. But with regard to the long-run, divergence of view may be legitimate. It may be, as Dr. Gregory legitimately points out, that the ideal of monetary policy may be stabilization of prices in terms of human effort, rather than a stabilization of prices in terms of gold. But it must always be remembered, that a policy of gold-price stabilization has the merit of being intelligible to the man in the street. We may also notice, that a certain amount of delay, or caution, is envitable in the successful pursuit of a policy of raising price-levels. Premature stabilization might have disastrous effects. For, in modern times, " price stabilization is only possible (assuming of course, that we cling to the gold standard) by co-operative action amongst the Central Banks of the World, for any single bank which attempted to stabilize the local price-level, at a time when world-prices are falling, might lose its reserves altogether, and be forced to suspend or abandon the gold standard."

It seems to me that the present moment is quite opportune for exploring the possibility of a bimetallic system and when once established, such a system would avoid fluctuations between the gold and silver-using parts of the world.

M. K. MUNISWAMI

GOOD-BYE

White, the snow on the mountain,
Bright, the moon in the sky.
Hearing that you have changed your heart,
I have come to say good-bye.
Tonight we meet ; I drink thy health,
For tomorrow I must see you over the bridge.
Perhaps we may walk a little distance ere we part
And watch the waters darting east and west.
It will not be too sad, too solitary,
Love is not a token to cry!
I hope you will find a lover everlastingly true,
To keep you company forever.
Look, how low-bending that fishing pole,
How lively the fish's tail!
Ah, better to love beauty and flowers,
Than hope to share the soul of another.

CHI HWANG CHU

A. E.

The Celtic movement in Modern English poetry is a reaction against contemporary tendencies of thought. Visions and dreams have, for poets belonging to this group, a greater reality than the actual facts of life. Nor can they find anything appealing to the profounder depths of human personality in the bustle and tumult of modern society. Theirs is the protest of mysticism and imaginative vision against the blatant realism which has, for years together, been trying to establish itself in the domain of English thought. The life they live seems, in their opinion, to be bereft of that nobler and more inspiring ideal which upheld their heroic ancestors. It is an iron age;

The Celtic Movement as a protest of mysticism and imaginative vision.

> "The wonder of the world is o'er:
> The magic from the sea is gone:
> There is no unimagined shore
> No islet yet to venture on."
>
> (Twilight of the Earth.)

The divine dreams which urged the great spirits of olden times, the fires that lit their dawning souls, have all faded away into nothingness. For the modern man the forest glooms are no longer

> "Rumorous of old romance
> Fraught with unimagined dooms."
>
> (Weariness.)

It is not nature that has changed, but man. She "mighty mother" still retains her primal sympathy for her beloved offspring, the human soul; she still endeavours to instil in man "high resolves" and magic vision. It is man who has fallen from his high estate; he

Man has fallen.

> "moves in the twilight dim
> Feels not the love that encircles him,

Though in heart, on bosom and eyelids press
Lips of an infinite tenderness,
He turns away through the dark to roam
Nor heeds the fire in his hearth and home.
(Unconscious).

He is a "kinsman of the Cherubim" gifted with a fire which might have classed him with the Titans of the days of old; radiant with a glory of his own like the morning stars which illumine the darkest recesses of the earth, yet this mortal clay of his body weighs him down; his vesture of decay is sorely "muddied with the lees of time."[1] "Chained in this pit's abysmal mire, as the world now appears to him, he broods and recreates in his own mind his agony of solitude. He feels the depth of his misery, "the night which encircles him" and strives hard to rend asunder the manacles of his soul but all in vain.[2] He is bewildered; he cannot understand, "How has the fire promethean paled."[3] And in the anguish of his heart he asks,

"Mankind that sought to be God-kind,
To wield the sceptre, wear the crown,
What made it worm-like in its mind?
Who bade it lay the sceptre down?
Was it through any speech of thee
Misunderstood of Galilee?"
(Iron Age.)

The consciousness of man's miserable plight in this age of industrialism has something very pathetic about it. The despairing cry of the human heart is poignant with inexpressible sorrow. Encompassed round by the iron law of circumstance, these poor inheritors of a greater day lament in a heart-rending manner their present degeneration.

"We dwindle down beneath the skies,
And from ourselves we pass away:
The paradise of memories
Grows ever fainter day by day,

[1] Weariness. [2] Rescue. [3] Iron Age.

The shepherd stars have shrunk within,
The world's great night will soon begin "
(The Twilight of Earth.)

The contrast between the present and the past, between the glorious age when—

The contrast between the past and the present.

" God, an elder brother dear,
Filled with kindly light our thought:
Many a radiant form was near
Whom our hearts remember not."
(Weariness.)

and that twilight time in which

" .....in their councils over all
Men set the power that sells and buys "
(The Iron Age.)

naturally makes them full of misgivings. Is the world really falling into decay? Will man " bathed in gloom, too long " forget his past glory and lose ".....the lost memorial gleam "? Have all the gods run their cycles? Has Devil-worship now begun? " Is there an iron age to be with beauty but a memory?" These are indeed questions which seem to overwhelm the little optimism that man still retains in the midst of the fever and fret of life; and from the profoundest depths of his personality there rings out an earnest prayer to the spiritual powers, a prayer for deliverance from this earthy hum-drum existence which stifles his soul. " Send forth," implores man,

" Send forth who promised long ago,
' I will not leave thee or forsake '
Someone to whom our hearts may flow
With adoration, though we make
The crucifixion be the sign
The meed of all the kingly line.

The morning stars were heard to sing
When man towered golden in the prime
One equal memory let us bring
Before we face our night in time.
Grant us one only evening star,
The iron age's avatar."
(The Iron Age.)

Hopes for the future.

Yet all is not lost. Even in the midst of darkest night of despair there are gleams of hope. Winter may be now brooding over the destinies of men, yet spring is not far behind. For what are, after all, darkness and radiance but " creations within the spirit born ?" Are we not creatures of our own making ? Do we not, even in these days of gloom and pessimism, still retain the power to make or mar our own fate? Cannot mind, in its own place, make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell?

" Not yet are fixed the prison bars;
The hidden light the spirit owns
If blown to flame would dim the stars
And they who rule them from their thrones;
And the grand sceptered spirits thence
Would bow to pay us reverence "
(The Twilight of the Earth.)

The soul's supremacy

Let us then look to our own selves for guidance ; let us not be carried away by the glories of the present-day world which lure us only to destroy. The pageants of worldly power are but unsubstantial things; they last for a day and then disappear into that very oblivion from which they spring. Let us, therefore, turn away from the buying and selling of a commercialised world, from its material wealth and prosperity—

" Oh! while the glory sinks within
Let us not wait on earth behind,
But follow where it flies, and win
The glow again, and we may find
Beyond the Gateways of the Day
Dominion and ancestral sway."
(The Twilight of the Earth.)

The Mystic—Living through visionary hours.

This hope in the future destiny of man is further strengthened by the existence, even in these days of materialism, of men illumined by the inner light of intuitive vision, men whose eyes are yet

".....blind with a glory
Time will not remember again."
(The Free.)

They live in this world indeed but are not of it. The world with its mad rush for gain and its destructive struggle for existence cannot soil their soul. Their souls are stars which live apart, nourishing within themselves

".....the secret sense celestial of the starry birth
Though about you call the bestial Voices of the earth."
(Comfort.)

They live through visionary hours in a world of spirit which recks not of earthly gain. The beauty of the world around them, its promise of spiritual regeneration, its vision of glory, upheld them in the midst of the direst calamities. Such men lived in the past " bathed in the fire-flooded fountains " and " girdled round and about " by an all-sustaining life.

" They prayed, but their worship was only
The wonder at nights and at days,
As still as the lips of the Lonely
Though burning with the dumbness of praise.

No sadness of earth ever captured
Their spirits who bowed at the shrine
They fled to the Lonely enraptured
And hid in the darkness divine."
(The Free.)

And such men *do* live even now, in this age of spiritual decadence. When the heart of man dies within him at the sight of ugliness and mental stupor, when " prophecies and hopes " seem to lie dead before the rottenness of the world and the sordid dissoluteness of its inhabitants, they appear " crowned with thorns of light," their eyes, radiant as

".....one who sees
The starry palaces shine o'er the sparkle of the heavenly seas."
(The Heroes.)

The world transformed before their eyes.

At their every approach the bitter condemnation which had so long been rankling in the heart dies away; the entire world is transformed: the very ugliness of life becomes resplendent with a newly discovered glory. With unerring insight into the reality of things they inspire men with the thought that

" Each wrinkled hag shall re-assume the plume and hues of Paradise:
Each brawler be enthroned in calm among the children of the wise"
(The Heroes.)

and suddenly the brow of these apparently dissolute creatures becomes crowned and bright

" A light round the shadowy heads, a shadow round the head of light."
(The Heroes).

They are the real heroes whom the world knows not. Their very life is a consecration and a dream

" filled with music by the masters of the world."

The call of mystery.

Even in their awakened moments glimmering feet of sunshine dance before their visionary eyes, beckoning them far away from the world of actual existence. They continually hear the call:

" 'Come away,' the red lips whisper, 'all the world is weary now;
'Tis the twilight of the ages and it's the time to quit the plough.
Oh! the very sunlight's weary ere it lightens up the dew,
And its gold is changed and faded before it falls to you.

Though your colleen's heart be tender, a tenderer heart is near
What's the starlight in her glances, when the stars are shining clear?
Who would kiss the fading shadow, when the flower-face glows above?
'Tis the beauty of all Beauty that is calling for your love.' "

And then to their enraptured gaze,

" ..... the land of youth lies gleaming, flashed with rainbow light and mirth
And the old enchantment lingers in the honey-heart of earth."
(Carrowmore.)

Moments of despondency.

Not that they are blind to the stifling influence of their uncongenial environments. They feel it in their heart of hearts. They know that a glory has fled from the earth, that the visionary gleam is no longer there. They have their moments of depression indeed ; moments when they are too much conscious of their earth-bound existence. In these moments the recollection of the past comes back to their mind with an added poignancy of sorrow.

" I know thee, O glory ;
Thine eyes and thy brows
With white-fire all hoary
Come back to me now.
Together we wandered
In ages agone :
Our thoughts as we pondered
Were stars at the dawn."

Those days of spiritual exultations are over, so they feel. The shades of evening have fallen on them and around them. The world has now become too much with such spirits. They can no longer have glimpses of those visionary hours. Their glory has dwindled, their 'azure and gold ;' and the pity of it is that they still have an intuitive consciousness ' dim-descried ' though it be, of a spiritual radiance which they can only see from afar and cannot reach. In their struggle with the world they have lost their pristine innocence. Their footsteps "are tied to the heath and the stone ;" Their thoughts have become of the earth, earthy ; so much "earth-allied-to" that they cannot respond to the call of the other-world. And in such moments of despair, they sorrowfully bid adieu to what had clothed them with radiance in the past. "Ah leave me alone" cry they, in the anguish of their heart,

" Go back, thou of gladness,
Nor wound me with pain,
Nor smite me with madness
Nor come nigh again."

The message of hope.

Even in such moments, however, there comes from the depth of their heart a message of hope which dispels the clouds of doubt and despair. Their soul gathers strength they know not whence. The "still small voice within" cannot be silenced. On the contrary, it whispers to them soul-entrancing melodies. Their weakness is strengthened. Self-confidence comes back. The voice of the spirit speaks in no uncertain terms: "Why tremble and weep now" she consoles,

"Why tremble and weep now
Whom stars once obeyed?
Come forth to the deep now
And be not afraid."

"Thou art no insignificant creature," she seems to remind the down-cast soul. "Thou art great, being the well-beloved of Divinity itself. It is fear which stifles thy aspiration: conquer it and the vision of glory will be vouchsafed unto thee." For it is not thou alone who aspirest after communion with the great Over-soul; the Over-soul hath need of thee even as thou hast of Him:"

"The Dark One is calling
I know, for his dreams
Around me are falling
In musical streams."

Thou art the chosen; in the mansion of thy father there is a seat reserved for thee,

"A diamond is burning
In depths of the lone,
Thy spirit returning
May claim for its throne."

Hast thou sorrow? Art thou laden with cares and anxieties? Is the world too dark for thee? Hast thou fallen on the thorns of life and dost bleed?

" Come lay thy poor head on
My heart where it glows
With love ruby-red on
Thy heart for its woes.

(Glory and Shadow,)

" Come forth : " the call rings in his ears,

" Come forth : for the splendour
Is waiting for you."

(*Ibid.*)

Thus upheld and thus sustained by the inner voice—"made young with joy, and grown brother-hearted with the vast"—they wander about in this world, seeking for the "visionary gleam " and trailing clouds of glory wherever they go.

A. E. as a Mystic Poet.

To this chosen band of seers aud mystics does George Russel, otherwise known as A. E., belong. Weighed down by the spiritual poverty of modern times he advises his fellowmen to hearken to the inner voice of God.

(1) The Inner Voice.

"Oh be not led away," implores the poet, " even by the beauty of the external world." ' The colours of a sun-rich day ' have a glamour indeed but their radiance lures man from the spiritual world of dreams. The " gay romance of song " can lift him from the pettiness of his everyday existence but it cannot make him participate in the true life of the spirit. Man should, endeavour to turn his face away from this passing show and concentrate his attention entirely on the development of his soul. He should be always alert for those moments of illumination which come but rarely to him. For these moments alone matter ; they alone give him an insight into the true significance of reality ; in them, alone, can he catch accents of the unknown, the Lonely.

"Though far between the hours
In which the Master of Angelic powers
Lightens the dark within,
The holy of holies, be it thine to win
Rare vistas of white light,
Half-parted lips through which the Infinite
Murmurs its ancient story,
Harkening to whom the wandering planets hoary
Waken primeval fires,
With deeper rapture in celestial choirs
Breathe, and with fleeter motion
Wheel in their orbits through the surgeless ocean.
So Hearken thou like these,
Intent on it, mounting by slow degrees,
Until thy song's elation
Echoes the multitudinous meditation."

(2) Nature, its mystery and soundless calm.

Nature is his companion; her "magic may flood him through and though;" her dreams of twilight, her silence and peace may instil themselves into his heart; but it is not her external charms which appeal to the poet most; it is that elusive something, that element of mystery and "soundless calm," which influences him strangely. Then from the world of everyday existence the "immemorial joys of hearth and home and love," the poet strays along "the margin of the unknown tide" and it is then alone that

"All its reach of soundless calm can thrill me far above
Word or touch from the lips beside."

(By the Margin of the Great Deep.)

The solitude of the earth has thus a profound significance for him; it makes him conscious of mystic influences.

In such moments of "singing silence," the poet experiences impressions from the deeper world of spiritual essences. There

are beautiful descriptions of such thrilling moments interspersed throughout his poetry. In the " solemn silence " of the night he rose, so he sings,

" Heart-ridden from the outer things I rose
The spirit woke anew in nightly birth
Unto the vastness where for ever glows
The star-soul of the earth."

(The Hermit.)

The revelation of the spiritual world.

The world of spiritual powers stood revealed to his questioning gaze ; he saw " Olden Beauty " shining there " all alone in primal ecstasy " and felt each thought, each fibre of his being saturated through and through with its influence. These experiences can always be felt in the midst of the " thrilling solitude " of the night or the ethereal natural magic of a noontide landscape.

" Through the drowsy lull, the murmur, the stir of leaf and sleepy hum,
We can feel a gay heart beating, hear a magic singing come."

On such occasions of spiritual exultation the poet becomes one with the Oversoul, lighting his " fitful gleams in clay that perish " his " little sparks that soon expire " at the " olden fire " of the great mother.

" So the mother brims her gladness from a life beyond her own,
From whose darkness as a fountain up the fiery days are thrown ;
Starry worlds that wheel in splendour, sunny systems, histories,
Vast and nebulous traditions told in the eternities"

(The Singing Silence.)

Soon, however, the glimmer passes away and the inspiration is lost.

" Thrown downward from that high companionship
Of dreaming inmost heart with inmost heart
Into the common daily ways I slip
My fire from theirs apart."

(Dawn.)

So the poet laments: the world is no longer radiant for him; after his dreams he is rudely awakened. Reality as mirrored in the everyday experiences of life oppresses his soul.

The vision fades away.

> "But here an iron will has fixed the bars
> Forgetfulness falls on earth's myriad races;
> No image of the proud and morning stars
> Looks at us from their faces."
>
> (Day.)

Are, then, these moments of vision, unreal? or even if real, are they transitory? Why is it that the images which open up before our mind's eye long-rolling vistas of spiritual experience should vanish so swiftly? Have they any permanent significance? The yearning of the poet's heart answers "Yes." When the soul is eager to reach those dim heights of intuitive vision again,

> "Each dream remembered is a burning glass,
> Where-through to darkness from the Light of lights
> Its rays in splendour pass."
>
> (Day.)

They are permanent *symbols* helping the human soul in its path of spiritual progress. They grow out of the dreams and moods of the spirit in man. In moments of inspiration the Divine in man wakes up from its slumber; it can no longer be satisfied with the transient objects of the earth. It is anxious for "God, its home." Then it loses touch with the external world and lives in worlds unrealised. At this stage of spiritual illumination, there emanate from the depths of the soul dreams and moods externalised, moods expressed by figures associated with tradition or individual experience.

Symbols.

> "Now when the spirit in us wakes and broods
> Filled with home yearnings, drowsily it flings
> From its deep heart high dreams and mystic moods
> Mixed with the memory of the loved earth-things:
> Clothing the vast with a familiar face;
> Reaching its right hand forth to greet the starry race."
>
> (Symbolism,)

They help man to realise his communion with the spiritual essences of the universe. Through them the human soul "reaches his right hand to greet the starry race." In afterlife, it is this symbol which influences him, takes possession of his entire self and lifts him up to Divinity. "We rise," says the poet,

> "We rise, by the symbol charioted
> Through loved things rising up to Love's own ways:
> By these the soul unto the vast has wings
> And sets the seal celestial on all mortal things."
>
> (Symbolism.)

Moods—Eternal.

Not such significant dreams alone, but every feeling of the human heart, leaves a permanent vestige in the spiritual world. At every heart-beat there come from the human soul moods which seem to be transitory. They tempt man by their presence and flit away like evanescent clouds at the slightest approach of mortal feet. Time seems to sweep off the entire flock to his caravan.

> "These new-born beauties
> The tyrant took
> Their gaze was on mine
> And mine forsook
> I could not stay even
> One lovely look."
>
> (Time.)

Yet they, the most insignificant of them all, are everlasting. Moods and emotions once felt never die away. They are all enshrined in the Over-soul; carefully nourished till Eternity. "I," sings the poet,

> "I, who sought on high for calm
> In the Ever-living find
> All I was in what I am,
> Fierce with gentle intertwined."
>
> (Resurrection.)

Man may become disconsolate at the fading away of his visions; his heart may be sorely wounded by the "iron rule" of

circumstance. He seeks some re-assuring sign—something which will strengthen him in the midst of his uncongenial environments. It is the mystic who can give him that re-assuring sign; he, and none else, can console him in his sorrow, strengthen him in his weakness. He alone can point out

"Those delicate children
Thy dreams still endure:
All pure and lovely things
Wend to the pure.
Sigh not: unto the fold
Their way was sure."

He alone can promise

"Thy gentlest dreams, thy frailest
Even those that were
Born and lost in a heart-beat,
Shall meet thee there.
They are become *immortal*
In shining air.

And when the day of days arrives, these immortal moods and dreams, these symbols which make human life significant, shall be united into one single great impression and illuminate the heart of the trouble-stained soul of man.

"The lights innumerable
That led thee on and on,
The mosque of Time ended,
Shall glow into one.
It shall be with thee for ever
Thy trouble done."

(Promise.)

Man's yearning for inner Illumination.

The glimmer, indeed, may vanish, but it leaves the soul of man yearning for a more intimate communion with the world of the spirit. Even when this transient beauty fades away, men long for

"thee to flower,
O bud of light divine."

(Winter.)

" And with what yearning in expressible,
Rising from long forgetfulness I turn
To thee, invisible, unrumoured, still:
White, for thy whiteness all desires burn.
Ah with what longing once again I turn."
(Desire.)

Such yearning of the human soul can never remain unanswered. Suddenly the gloomy landscape " snowpatched moorland, chill and drear," " the bitter frost which quenches the warmth of life "—all take an ethereal radiance.

Then in that moment of blissful expectation,

" Out of the vast, the voice of one replies
Whose words are clouds and stars and night and day,
When for the light and anguished spirit cries
Deep in its house of clay."
(Answer.)

The mystic vision.

The mystic vision again flows and lives among men and woods and streams. It envelops the human soul and compels her to lose her distinctive personality.

" Sometimes it rose like fire in me
Within the depths of my own mind,
And spreading to infinity,
It took the voices of the wind."

The entire world with the human soul becomes one vision ; the mystery of human destiny seems to be depicted in inexplicable symbols on the face of the universe. The symbols become more and more legible, they enter into the depths of human personality.

" At last, at last, the meaning caught,
The spirit wears its diadem;
It shakes its wonderous plumes of thought
And trails the stars along with them."
(Unity.)

A. E. and Indian Thought: (1) The Gita.

The divine vision which the poet A. E. witnesses in his moments of mystic exultation is strangely reminiscent of Indian Ideals. He goes to the Bhagavad-Gita and not to Plato for his conception of the Over-soul. One single line of that sacred book at once inspires him with a transcendent dream which thrills him into song. "I am Beauty itself among beautiful things," he reads, and all on a sudden the heavens seem to lay hold on him, a new enchantment clothes the entire universe with a halo of ethereal glory. The veil of Maya is withdrawn from the face of the earth, and the seer "wakens into a mystery." His heart is "stilled in awed delight"; he hears "a laughter in the diamond air, a music in the trembling grass"; and in a joyous trance he sees unrolled before his imaginative eye the entire Universe shot through and through with the radiance of the Spirit of Beauty. He feels—

"And earth and air and wave and fire
In awe and breathless silence stood;
For One who passed into their choir
Linked them in mystic brotherhood."

(Over-soul.)

The poet is not satisfied with the vision alone; he wants to go deeper into the mystery, to come face to face with its source. Anxiously he questions—

"Twilight of amethyst amid
Thy few strange stars that lit the skies
Where was the secret spirit hid?
Where was Thy place, O Light of Lights?
The flame of Beauty far in space
Where rose the fire; in Thee, in Me?
Which bowed the elemental race
To adoration silently?"

(*Ibid.*)

But whatever may be the origin of his " Light of Lights " he is nevertheless conscious that

" A shadowy tumult stirs the dusky air;
Sparkle the delicate dews, the distant snows;
The great deep thrills for through it everywhere
The breath of Beauty blows."

(The Great Breath.)

(2) The Upanishads.

Equally potent was the influence of the Upanishads on the mind of the mystic visionary. The conception of an Atman transcending the phenomenal world of existence, self-sufficient in its majesty, eternally passing through strength to strength to Moksha strangely fascinated the imagination of this poet. It is the " imperial will " which progresses triumphantly alone, seeing visions indeed but passing beyond them. The streams of Karma, the " Fires of Life " gleam around it ; they seek to bind this pure essence in their toils but fall back unsuccessful. The " lights of earth," its physical beauties, cannot ensnare it ; rather in moments of deep meditation, they fade and wane into nothingness. It recks of nothing except Brahma " the heart-hold of light " whom it seeks. It transcends even its individual nature;

" Sounds the deep Om the mystic word of might:
Forth from the heart-hold breaks the living stream
Passed out beyond the deep heart music-filled,
The Kingly will sits on the ancient throne,
Wielding the sceptre, fearless, free, alone,
Knowing in Brahma all it dared and willed."

(Magic.)

That " mystic word of might," *Om*, has a great significance for A.E. It is one of the great symbols which carry the human soul to the dim heights of cosmic consciousness. It raises before his mind's eye visions of the snow-capped summits of the Himalayas, shadowy in the distant horizon. The pale rays of dawn flicker faintly beyond the snows and

" ...leaning o'er the shadowy white
Morn glimmered like a pale primrose."

Far below in the valley, standing awe-struck before the Mighty Presence, a child watches with "loving eyes the glow in dayshine fade and night depart."

The wonder and mystery of the entire scenery fills his mind with reverence and admiration. The mystic powers steal into his enraptured soul; they fill it with exultation and in a mood of spiritual joy the heart of the child in tune with the Infinite bursts out into triumphant utterance of that deep Om, the mighty symbol of ecstatic vision. And we seem to catch accents of the *rishis* when the poet breaks forth into a pœan of praise.

"The word which Brahma at his dawn
Outbreathes and endeth at his might,
Whole tide of sound so rolling on
Gives birth to orbs of pearly light;
And beauty, wisdom, love and youth,
By its enchantment gathered grew
In age-long wandering to the truth,
Through many a cycle's ebb and flow." (*Om*) [1]

The atmosphere of Indian culture and Indian symbolism settles like an aroma over many a song that A.E. sings. The mountains loom in the distance, "shadowy-petalled like the lotus." The oblations of *soma* rise like a cloud radiant in the rays of the Sun. The landscape resplendent in the glow of the sunset reminds this western poet, as it does no other of his peers, of the day "when first in yellow splendour Brahma from the Lotus rose." The fairy lights of day fading over the darkening mounds, the twinkle of the stars calling the soul of man from the vasty deep, the thrill of Brahma's breath all create an environment both mystic and Indian. And in the midst of this

[1] *Cf.* "Om stands for the most general aspect of That as the source of all. As it is recited, the idea arises in the mind corresponding with the sound which has been said to be the expression on the gross plane of that subtle "sound" which accompanied the first creative vibration. When rightly uttered this great syllable has an awe-inspiring effect. As I heard this Mantra chanted by some hundred Buddhist monks in a northern monastery it seemed to be the distant murmuring roll of some vast cosmic ocean."—Sakti and Sakta, Woodroffe, p. 231.

tense silence, the flute-like voice of the poet is heard singing, in jubilant notes, his anthem of praise to India's God Brahma,

"Brahma, all alone in gladness, dreams the joys
that throng in space,
Shepherds all the whirling splendours onward
to their resting place
Where the worlds of lovely silence fade in one
the starry race."
(Indian Song.)

(3) Maya.

Maya is another peculiarly Indian concept which leaves a profound impression on the poet. To him, Maya has her true and real existence in the deeps of Being alone. As such, she is only one aspect of reality, the creative and generative aspect. She is the mother with whom the human soul has no essential cause for difference. It is only her external and accidental manifestations isolated from the deepest roots of her being, that lure man, and keep him apart.

"Charmed by some *lesser* glow in thee
Our hearts beat not within thy heart.
Beauty, the face, the touch, the eyes
Prospects of thee, allure our sight
From that *unfathomed deep* where lies
Thine ancient loveliness and light."[1]

[1] *Cf.* "According to the Sakta tantric exposition of Advaitabâda, Mâyâ is not an unconscious (Jada) principle but a particular Sakti of Brahman. Being Sakti, it is at base consciousness but as Maya-Sakti it is consciousness *veiling* itself. Shakti and Shaktiman are one and the same. Therefore Maya-Sakti is *Shiva* or *Chit* in that particular aspect which He assumes as the Material cause in creation."
(Sakti and Sakta, Woodroffe, p. 145)

"It here exists as the mixed consciousness-unconsciousness (in the sense of the limited consciousness of the physical and material universe."
(*Ibid*, p. 163)

"What there is, is Maya-sakti; that is consciousness veiling, as the Mother, Herself to herself as her creation."
(*Ibid*, p. 176)

"She works in and as all things; now greatly veiling her consciousness-bliss in gross matter, now by gradual stages more fully revealing herself in the forms of one universal life which she is."
(*Ibid*, p. 165)

When, however, these depths are reached, when Maya reveals herself as what she really is, man finds her to be the creative impulse of the Over-soul, one with whom his life should always be. This recognition of her true essence not only enlightens man but instils a joyous impulse into the personality of Maya-sakti herself.

> " Self-found at last, the joy that springs
> Being thyself, shall once again
> Start thee upon the whirling rings
> And through the pilgrimage of pain."
>
> (Veils of Maya.)

(4) Sakti, the Great Mother.

This Maya gradually develops in the mind of the poet into the Great Mother, all powerful yet all loving too. The beautiful harmony between power (Sakti) and love in the personality of this Great Mother has a close affinity with the idea of Sakti in Hindu culture. There also Sakti is a mother ever thrilling to the touch of her child, the soul of man, ever responsive to his supplications. When the world is too much with the Hindu devotee, when he falls on the thorns of life and bleeds, he lays all his burden before the mother and is relieved. He looks to her for consolation in his sorrows, for a reassuring sign in the darkest hours of despair. Such too is the attitude of the poet towards *his Mother Almighty*. She sometimes appears as Earth—

> " Out of whose virgin being they (men) were born
> Whose mother nature they have named with scorn
> Calling its holy substance common clay."
>
> (The Virgin Mother.)

Her rudest sod is holy to him : it is thrilled with " fire of hidden day " and " haunted by all mystery." Her very presence strikes him with awe and reverence, for her breath blows from her mystic bowers and their elfin glamour floats through the " pureness " of his shadowy hours. She gives her children wisdom and love, and guides them in the tempestuous course of

their lives. She invests them with an ethereal radiance and beauty.[1] And thus out of the earth-mother is gradually evolved a shadowy Being of mystic powers who inspires man with visions of glory unrealised. When life hangs heavy on her child she inspires him with a new faith. "Ah! how often," says the poet,

" Ah how often have I followed filled with phantom hopes and fears,
When my star that rose dream-laden, moving to the mystic crown,
On the yellow moon rock foundered and my joy and dreams went down.
As a child with hands uplifted peering through the cloudless miles
Bent the mighty Mother o'er me shining all with eyes and smiles; "

and the vision that is vouchsafed him is that of a mystic Power clad in all the majesty of the creative spirit, surrounded by myriads of supernatural Beings rendering due reverence to her.[2] In fact the poet dreams of this Great Mother and witnesses how

" The wild will wakes within her, lighting up her flying dreams
Round and round the planets whirling break in woods and
flowers and streams,
And the winds are shaken from them as leaves from off
the rose,
And the feet of earth go dancing in the way that beauty goes,
And the souls of earth are kindled by the incense of her breath
As her light alternate lures them through the gates of
birth and death."
(A Vision of Beauty).[3]

An awe-inspiring picture this! of the Mighty Mother. Yet mighty and awe-inspiring though she be, she is the refuge

1 To One Consecrated.

2 Fantasy.

3 *Cf.* "Then, when moved to create, the Great Power issues from the depths of Being and becomes mind and matter whilst remaining what she ever was : the being (Sat) which is the foundation of all manifested life and the spirit which sustains and enlightens it. This primal Power (Adya Sakti) as object of worship, is the *Great Mother* of all natural things and nature herself. In herself (Swarupa) She is not a person, but She is ever and incessantly *personalising* ; assuming the multiple masks which are the varied forms of mind-matter. As therefore manifest, She is all personalities and as the collectivity thereof the Supreme Person."—Sakti and Sakta, Woodroffe, pp. 164-65.

" Where many a broken heart hath lain
And many a weeping head."
(A New Being.)

Hate fades away before her and the exiles of the heart seek her for consolation and repose. When her children commit any wrong to the least limb of beauty, she punishes them :

" The Mother veiled over
And hid from our faces
The high soul of nature,
The deep and the wonder,
Her towers up in heaven,
And the fairy-land under."
(In as much as .....)

Yet she alone knows the pangs of misery from which man suffers :

" Unto the deep, the deep heart goes
It lays its sadness nigh the breast
Only the Mighty Mother knows
The wounds that quiver unconfessed.
... ...
It feels in the unwounding vast
For comfort for its hopes and fears
The Mighty Mother bows at last
She listens to her children's tears."

She feels for their sorrows and transmutes their pain into beauty

" Where the last anguish deepens—there
The fire of beauty smites through pain
A glory moves amid despair,
The mother takes her child again.
(The Place of Rest.)

(5) Krishna—the Master-Singer.

In the varied spiritual experiences of the poet, the Over-soul like the God of the Vaisnavas becomes a master-singer ; he is the sunlight in the heart, the silver moon-glow in the mind ; His laughter runs and ripples through the wavy stresses of the wind. Like the Gopies of Brindabana "myriad lovers pine and die for Him" and in their latest yielded breath He gives them life everlasting

which knows no pangs of sorrow. Like Krishna again He shakes in "myriad dance and song" and lives in beauty and joy.[1] This frolicsome Divine Lover would play hide-and-seek with the human soul in and out the courts of time. And the devotee when he looks upon the universe finds his Beloved smiling at him even therefrom.

"In the moon-light grows a smile
'Mid its rays of dusty pearl—
'Tis but hide and seek the while,
As some frolic boy and girl."

Even in sleep and in dreams he feels His mysterious presence :

"When I fade into the deep
Some mysterious radiance showers
From the jewel-heart of sleep
Through the veil of darkened hours.
Where the ring of twilight gleams
Round the sanctuary wrought,
Whispers haunt me,—in my dreams
We are one yet know it not."

(Alter Ego.)

Like the Vaishnava devotee he is not easily satisfied : he follows his fugitive lover neither for beauty nor for inspiration. They are but superficial, external prizes worth little; he wants a more desirable consummation ; he yearns to lose himself in his Beloved. Maddened by visions of this blessed consummation he looks at the world and finds it full of Krishna. The paradox of the Infinite in the finite, the Divine in the human form, of strength in weakness, is very beautifully expressed in the exquisite imitation of a fragment from the Vaishnava Scriptures which the poet has significantly named Krishna. The Beloved appears as a child playing innocently in the lawn and yet he is the ancient and unborn; he dallies with damsels whom he betrays yet he is the purest of the pure ; he becomes an outcast brawling through the starlit air and nevertheless he is the Prince of Peace. In spite of all these contradictory appearances Krishna remains

[1] The Master-singer.

to his devotee what he has always been in his essence: "the life within the Ever-living Living Ones

> The ancient with eternal youth, the cradle of the infant suns,
> The fiery fountain of the stars and He the golden urn where all
> The glittering spray of planets in their myriad beauty fall."

The whole course of Indian thought, the vision of the Bhagavad Gita, the intuitive revelations of the Upanishads, the mother-cult of the Saktas and the Bhakti of the Vaisnavas are all congenial to this poet's imagination. They all contribute to the growth and development of his soul.

The World transformed.

Rising from such visions of glory the poet looks upon the world with a changed eye. Before his soul had been transformed by the intuitive revelation of truth and beauty his momentary moods of spiritual exultation faded away at the approach of dawn. He had to admit

> "Thrown downward from that high companionship
> Of dreaming inmost heart with inmost heart,
> Into the common daily ways I slip
> My fire from theirs apart."
>
> (Dawn.)

Soon, however, everything is changed. The same dawn after this illumination of his soul, appears instinct with joy and expectations.

> "While the earth is dark and grey
> How I laugh within, I know
> In my breast what ardours gay
> From the *morning* overflow."

He greets a friend in each flower and tree and wind and is filled to the brim with the joy of life. "For," says he in joyous accents of faith,

> "What to you are bolts and bars
> Are to me the arms that guide
> To the freedom of the stars,
> Where my golden kinsmen bide."
>
> (Dawn-song.)

The domination of spiritual darkness under which his soul had so long been suffering dies away; it seems to be overthrown by some mysterious ethereal power and the poet's heart is released from fear. He now looks on mortal things with an immortal's eye. The dust of the earth becomes holy and mysterious; and a new world swims into his ken. "I who had sought," says the poet,

"I who had sought afar from earth
The fairy land to meet,
Now find content within its girth
And wonder nigh my feet.
To-day a nearer love I choose
And seek no distant sphere
For aureoled by fairy dews
The dear brown breasts appear.
And what I thought of heaven before
I find in earth below
A sunlight in the hidden core
To dim the noon-day glow.
And with the earth my heart is glad,
I move as one of old;
With mists of silver I am clad
And bright with burning gold."

(A New Will.)

Man.

Man is now girt round not with weakness but strength. A thousand ages toil for him; his pain, his joys, the careless sweetness of his mind are all the gifts of the past.

And not alone unto your birth, the poet reminds man,

"Their gifts the weeping ages bore
The old descents of God on earth
Have dowered thee with celestial lore
So, wise, and filled with sad and gay,
You pass into the further day."

(Inheritance.)

The poorest man, the most insignificant creature on earth, has a nobility of his own. He lives far beyond earth's misery and

breathes an atmosphere of primeval joy.[1] Even the peasants driving swine are ennobled.

"They huddle in night within low claybuilt cabins;
And to themselves unknown,
They carry with them diadem and sceptre
And move from throne to throne."

(Exiles.)

The Child.

Nor is the child the plaything of an hour. His birth is an awakening into sorrow. In his ante-natal existence he had been the comrade of the stars, the suns and other great powers of nature. They, after his birth, beckon to him and his heart yearns for their companionship. He remembers his happy past but is borne inexorably forward to a life of tears.

"Beyond the dazzling throng
And above the towers of men
The stars made him long, long
To return to their light again.
They lit the wondrous years
And his heart within was gay
But a life of tears, tears,
He had won for himself that day."

(Awakening.)

In his early age the child before the shades of the world close round him still retains within himself an unconscious joy which sustains him in his life. His very joy is an infallible guide, his inspiration he draws from the great Over-soul and all his activities have a charm about them by which they are distinguished from the ways of men.

There is a striking contrast between a man and a child. The bitter experiences through which he has to pass have taken from man all zest of life. He no longer finds any pleasure in his activities. On the contrary, he longs to rest from the strife, the struggle for existence and yet has to labour hard for the performance of his duties. In the case of the child, however, the benign powers of the universe have invested all his activities

[1] Vesture of the Soul.

with a magic and an unconscious charm which render them attractive and beautiful. Losing touch with the deepest realities, man becomes shallow and superficial, the child, on the other hand, retains his intimate relationship with the spiritual world ; he can still draw inspiration from the lonely Over-soul.

" We are men by anguish taught
To distinguish false from true;
Higher wisdom we have not;
But a joy within guides you."

(Childhood.)

The child is thus the crown of nature. The mystic odours of her trees, the buried stars beneath the mountain ; " the rainbow bloom from tiny fountains," the loveliness of all existence ; they go to mould the character of their Lord. The spirit of the universe seeks new inspiration from the centre of all being and invests the child with all its glory and wisdom.

" And the fire divine in all things burning
Seeks the mystic heart anew
From its wanderings far again returning
Child to you."

(Benediction.)

Pain.

Even pain is glorified. Others may worship at the shrine of Gods who dower them with gifts of happiness. Not so the poet. He will, on the contrary, make a God of pain and

" Of my God I know this much
And in singing I repeat,
Though there's anguish in his touch
Yet his soul within is sweet."

(Pain.)

It is the painful experiences of life which enable man to hurl defiance even at angels. Man who weeps a million tears can truthfully say

" All your beauty cannot win
Truth we learn in pain and sighs:
You can never enter in
To the circle of the wise."

For

> "When defiance fierce is thrown
> At the God to whom you bow
> Rest the lips of the Unknown
> Tenderest upon my brow."
>
> (The Man to the Angel.)

Pain thus enlightens us with a new vision of life; it guides us along the wandering way to the mystic heart of gold.

Thus the entire world of man and nature is transformed in the light of the beatific vision granted to the seer. The age of Iron, the twilight of the Earth are all changed. It is the golden age which lures the poet onward.

Love: Spiritual love.

The poet's mystic outlook on life transforms his entire personality. He cannot look on love like an ordinary human being untroubled by visions and dreams. It has not that passionate touch of real personal experience, which it has with other men. Parting, which is so instinct with poignancy of sorrow even in poets like Browning, becomes a visionary experience. The "wind-blown tresses," of the beloved may play round him; he may listen to her "bosom's gentle murmurings," but even in these moments of intense personal emotion he lives in a world of mystic dreams. Their lips meet indeed but "on the verge of the vast spheres" and although the physical presence of his beloved brings him back to the external world of reality it is with regret that he returns. The exclamation "How far away from Paradise" has a significance of its own. The poet frankly yearns for the paradise from which he has been drawn away.[1] The charms of his lady-love attracts him strangely:

> "A shaft of fire that falls like dew
> And melts and maddens all my blood
> From out thy spirit flashes through
> The burning glass of womanhood."

[1] Parting.

Yet the poet does not desire any more intimate communion with her ; on the contrary, he is apprehensive lest any nearer approach should make him blind to her real beauty.

" Only so far ; here must I stay :
Nearer I miss the light, the fire ;
I must endure the torturing ray,
And with all beauty, all desire."

He feels that a long life of spiritual experience is necessary before a truly spiritual union is possible. Then alone will he be able to go beyond the veil of physical appearance and feel the glow of a ecstatic love.

" Ah time-long must the effort be,
And far the way that I must go
To bring my spirit unto thee,
Behind the glass, within the glow."

(The Burning Glass.)

He does not so much desire to feel her gentle hand as to greet her soul in a dream across wide leagues of land. He would "love first and after see," know her diviner counterpart before he kneels to her.

" So in thy motions all expressed
Thy angel I may view :
I shall not on thy beauty rest,
But beauty's self in you."

(Dream Love.)

She is an inheritor of the past : dream faces bloom around her face, " like flowers upon one stem," and the heart of many a vanished race sighs as the lover looks upon them.[1] Even in moments of love's ecstasy the poet feels the disturbing presence of spiritual essences. He feels something in her which he cannot recognise. A Presence seems to intervene.

" I sometimes think a mighty lover
Takes every burning kiss we give :
His lights are those which round us hover
For him alone our lives we live."

(Blindness.)

[1] The Faces of Memory.

His love is transformed :

"We deem our love so infinite
Because the Lord is everywhere,
And love awakening is made bright
And bathed in that diviner air."

The lovers are not persons of flesh and blood. They are spiritual essences passing through the experiences of love to gain strength and attain perfection. Love is only a tributary to this stream of mystical vision.

"We go on our enchanted way
And deem our hours immortal hours,
Who are but shadow Kings that play
With mirrored majesties and powers."
(Reflections.)

The ordinary dalliance of love is not theirs : for the mere kiss of love or the clasp of hand can never satisfy their yearnings. They are external manifestations and cannot touch the soul. Love, real love, on the contrary, seeks to lose itself in the beloved. It goes beyond appearances, beyond the physical veil, to her very soul. These external manifestations are transitory, they fade as the flower of beauty withers away. Spiritual love is based on the very depth of the soul; it is eternal.

"Do not ask for the hands of love or love's soft eyes
They give less than love who give all giving what wanes.
I give you the star-fire, the heart-way to Paradise,
With no death after, no arrow with stinging pain."
(The Message.)

"You and I," declares the poet exultingly,

"You and I have found the secret way,
None can bar our love or say us nay:
All the world may stare and never know
You and I are twined together so."

Such love transcends time : it is eternal, expressing as it does the primeval affinity between soul and soul. Earth cannot

tarnish it nor can the bitter experiences of life turn it into indifference.

" You and I have found the joy had birth
In the angel childhood of the earth,
Hid within the heart of man and maid
You and I, of time, are not afraid."
(Affinity.)

It forgets the personality of the beloved, it forgets the universe and moves in spiritual worlds. It finds its echoes in the vast expanses, in infinite spaces; it fills the heaven with its light. The soft white form which the lover holds in his arms is a mere receptacle, a mere instrument and the lovers " move as shades through the deep " [1]

The Sacrifice of Love for inner Illumination.

Even such love, so radiant with spiritual significance has to be sacrificed when the Deep calls unto the Deep. When the soul of man becomes too much engrossed in love, he loses his power of intuitive illumination. His heart becomes overburdened ; the dreams which had so long sustained him fade away. Gloom settles on his soul, yet he would fain cling to his love. His dream-land palace may vanish yet he would be satisfied with the little light which still shines in him. In these moments of despondency the beloved comes to inspire him with loftier aspirations. With a splendid gesture of self-sacrifice she commands her lover to " think no more of love or smiles." " Build our lofty dream again," her dark eyes seem to say,

" Build our lofty dream again :
Let our palace rise o'er us :
Love can never be till then."
(Heroic Love.)

Sometimes it is the lover who warns the beloved :

" Pure at heart we wander now :
Comrade on the quest divine,
Turn not from the stars your brow
That your eyes may rest on mine."

[1] A Vision of Love.

We are, in our distant hope
One with all the great and wise
Comrade, do not turn or grope
For some lesser light that dies."

(Warning.)

Yet the pangs of separation are there. The lover may obey the call yet " his heart is sore." Love is sacrificed indeed but the heart is crushed down by sorrow. Vainly the lover cries " Oh that heart could feel mind believes." The soul of man has to pass through the vale of tears; grief " rolls through him in tempestuous fierceness." His only consolation is that there is a destiny which leads him on, whither he does not know. And even in the midst of such overwhelming sorrow, he has to revive the drooping spirit of his beloved. Dream thou not he comforts her,

" Dream thou not whither the path is leading
Where the dark Immortal would shepherd
Our weeping souls ? "

(Ordeal.)

In spite of such heart-rending pains of separation the lovers must part ; for the future destiny of their soul hangs in balance. They feel that if they lose their inner light they will lose the essence of their being; they will be mere clods undisturbed by the Divine Spark. What profits it man if he gains love and loses his soul ? And the lover, in the anguish of his heart bids farewell to his beloved.

" And ah! my bright companion, you and I must go
Our ways, unfolding lonely glories, not our own
Not from each other gathered, but an inward glow
Breathed by the Lone One, on the seeker lone."

They are however upheld in these darkest moments of misery by faith alone. They still cling to the hope that they will after long ages meet elsewhere.

"If for heart's own sake we break the heart we may,
When the last ruby drops dissolves in diamond light,
Meet in deeper vesture another day
Until that dawn, dear heart, good night, good night."

(A Farewell.)

Verily to the mystic seer the path of love is more beset with thorns than roses. And thus,

"They bade adieu to love the old ;
They heard another Lover then,
Whose forms are myriad and untold,
Sigh to them from the hearts of men".

Thus inspired and thus enlivened, the mystic poet A. E. lives his life involved his own dreams and sustained by the inner voice of the Over-soul. He lives his life ministering to the spiritual needs of his fellowmen, encouraging them by glorious visions of the future destiny of man.

A. K. Sen

MY NORMANDY

(Translated from the French of F. Berat.)

When all nature is born again with hope,
And the winter flies far from us;
Under the azure sky of our France,
When the sun grows thrice softer ;
When all nature is grown green again,
When the nightingale doth come back again,—
I will arise and go to see my Normandy,
The country that gave me birth.

I have seen the fields of Switzerland,—
Its chalet-cottage and glacier fields;
I have seen the blue sky of Italy,
Venice, with all her gondoliers;—
I salute unto every country,
But still will I say, " Nothing so fair,
So fair as is my Normandy,—
The country that gave me birth,"

It is an age in a life—
When each dream must have its fill,
An age when the soul gathers
The silken langour of revived memory;
When my laden music shall be cooled
From her turbulent fevered heat,
And my sick heart will stop singing her love-songs,
I will arise and go to see my Normandy,
The country that gave me birth.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY BANK OF BOMBAY

PART II

Investments.

Attention has already been drawn incidentally to the fact that the bank's investments were indeed of a heavy nature and amounted sometimes to 60 lakhs of Rs.—a higher figure than the volume of the actual paid-up capital of the bank. Starting with a large amount of paid-up capital, the Presidency Bank was forced to invest in Government securities. Too large a holding of capital proved to be the bank's greatest difficulty and the heroic efforts made by it to secure a proper field of business have not been recorded by any of the bank historians. On the very threshhold of its career it attempted to establish a branch of its own at Calcutta as clause XXXVIII of its charter permitted it to do so. The chief reason which actuated it to open this branch was its excessive capital estimated at 33 lakhs and the lack of any scope for profitable investment in remunerative and safe lines of business in the city of Bombay itself. The other reasons which made it decide on this course of action was the non-compliance of the Bank of Bengal to fulfil the request of the Bank of Bombay to find remunerative employment of 10 to 15 lakhs of Rupees at 7 per cent. Calcutta was selected as the proper place where the branch could be started as at that place the people were fully familiar with banking operations and because the banking capital of that city was considered insufficient to meet its needs. It was on such grounds that it petitioned the Bombay Government on 29th July, 1841, to allow it to open a branch in Calcutta.

This suggestion was immediately forwarded to the Governor General in Council for understanding their own sentiment in the first instance. Even before its wishes were communicated

to it, it refused to sanction the scheme as the proposed branch was to be situated outside the territorial limits of the Bombay Presidency.

The Governor General in Council required the sanction of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for this step.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors refused to grant the permission on the ground that "the branch of the Bank of Bombay would be a co-ordinate note-issuing bank with that of the Bank of Bengal. An agent can be employed to discount bills and make advances on securities provided his issues are not made in the notes of the Bank of Bombay but in cash." [1]

Undaunted by this failure it strove to secure permission to conduct foreign exchange business so as to find remunerative employment for its excessive capital. This agitation was set up as the bank's capital was felt too much for its actual operations. The alternative of reduction of capital was suggested if this permission was not to be granted by the Government. The suggested modification was to be effected by reducing the share to Rs. 500 and similarly by decreasing the note-issue to One crore of rupees. The extension of loaning could be done by recognising other kinds of securities as bankable securities on which the bank might be privileged to lend. Foreign bills of six months' standing up to One crore of rupees were to be bought by the bank. The example of the Colonial Banks conducting foreign exchange business was cited in support of its claim. The following extract makes this situation clear.

The following extract from the Secretary's Report makes the situation apparent:[2] "The Bank appears to me to have been treated at starting in a manner to preclude its working profitably—I allude to the orders requiring that the whole of the capital of Rs. 52,25,000 should be paid-up, the

[1] No. 19, Financial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, dated 26th July, 1843.

[2] See the Letter of the Bombay Bank signed by the Secretary, Mr. Stuart, to the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government, August 12, 1852.

consequence of which was that to prevent the total loss of interest large sums were of necessity invested in Government paper and consequently when the money market became tight instead of helping to lighten the pressure the bank directors are obliged to add to it by throwing some of their own paper in the market and selling it for less than they have to pay for it when the money market was easy.

The bank paid roughly only three per cent. interest on the whole paid-up capital and the suggestion was to increase this rate of dividend by granting loans on shares of Chartered Banks in India, shares of guaranteed India Railway Companies, bills of lading, shipping documents of goods in transit and consigned to Bombay or by conducting foreign exchange transactions. In support of the bank's contention, the Directors of the bank submitted a report containing three annexures one of which has already been quoted. As these annexures give an eloquent statistical history of the bank they are quoted in full.

Abstract Statement of the Annual operations of the Bank of Bombay from the commencement of business to the 30th June, 1852

Col. I Year	*Col. II* Average Deposits.	*Col. III* Average Circulation.	*Col. IV* Liabilities Average.	*Col. V* Average Investment in Government Securities.
1840	1502110	1175840	2677950	3819240
1841	1290750	1990833	3281583	4175510
1842	1161677	2034350	3195027	2244580
1843	3519815	3871920	7391735	2729080
1844	3101336	4258530	7359916	5940931
1845	2161339	3806080	5970419	5593516
1846	1937546	3523954	5461500	4789833
1847	1913715	4039803	5953576	4416416
1848	2027246	4336837	6364 83	4615500
1849	2094223	4557447	6651670	4142751
1850	2043812	4575114	6618926	3669525
1851	2720538	3337595	6048133	3200716
1852	2457280	4058744	6516024	3193225
Average	2147952	3505161	5653114	4040332

Col. VI	*Col. VII*			*Col. VIII*	*Col. IX*
Employed in banking operations	Rate per cent. on paid-up capital of profits on banking operations.			Cash balance	Average rate per cent. of cash to liabilities.
Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	%
836375	1	4	6	3768445	140·72
2941614	2	5	7	1590667	57·61
4445690	3	1	6	1899284	59·44
3592830	2	8	8	4746589	64·21
2819112	2	0	0	3577783	48·61
3204914	2	3	6	2306693	38·66
3228834	3	11	6	2565883	46·98
3857511	4	13	2	2869916	48·20
3485083	3	14	11	3384925	53·18
3664820	2	9	0	3355500	50·04
4228412	4	11	6	3541560	53·52
3517115	3	11	0	4451668	73·60
4048715	3	2	0	4547406	69·02
3374771	3	1	3	3302947	61·83

E. E. WALTER TAYLOR,
Head Accountant.

The following statement shows the net profit realised by the bank from 1841 to 1851 both inclusive, and the rate of dividend paid upon capital of Rs. 52,25,000 ; also what rate of dividend would have been paid had the capital been one half of Rs. 26,12,500.

Year	Net profit per annum on paid-up capital—Rs. 52,25,000.	Rate of Dividend.	Deduct interest on one-half the capital proposed to be reduced.	Net profit per annum on reduced capital of 26,12,500.	Rate % per annum.	Surplus profits per annum.
1841	253778	5	104500—4%	149278	51/2	5590
1842	360595	7	103625—5%	229970	81/2	7908
1843	361512	7	104500—4%	257012	91/2	8825
1844	392711	7	104500—4%	288211	11%	836
1845	385516	7		281016	101/2	6704
1846	416117	7		311617	111/2	11180
1847	411210	8				
1848	389388	8&7				
1849	301814	6				
1850	386507	6				
1851	318375	6				
II	3977523	73½	1148725	2891898	108	70401
Gross Average	361593	$6\frac{15}{22}$	104420	262899	$9\frac{9}{11}$	

But unfortunately neither these eloquent statistics nor the piteous entreaties of the bank had the desired effect. No actual change resulted out of this Herculean effort. Ultimately the power to grant loans on shares of guaranteed railways was extended in 1854.[1] The Court of Directors refused to listen to any of the above requests.[2] It did not condescend either to

[1] See the Act of 1854 amending the law relating to several banks (20th January) of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

[2] See the financial Letter of the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, No. 1, 19th January, 1853. Copies of this letter were also sent on 2nd March 1853 to the Government of India.

permit the bank to reduce the capital or to allow it to conduct foreign exchange operations.

As the grounds stated for refusing to comply with either of the requests are supposed to be based on basic principles of sound banking, a reference to them is essential. In para. 3 of their Letter they state "that they are not prepared to comply with either of the above requests submitted by the Directors of the Bank, that it would be at variance with every sound principle, that the Bank in addition to its regular business should engage in distant exchange business operations and that with respect to the alternative suggested by the Directors, namely, the reduction of capital, they cannot see the necessity for the measure, the dividend on the Bank shares having averaged 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum since the date of the institution of the Bank under Charter and the shares now bearing a considerable premium in the market. They state further that as a consequence of the present moderate demand for banking accommodation at the Presidency it may be necessary that the Bank with a view to profit on its capital should hold larger quantity of Government paper than it would otherwise do, but that they are of opinion that if a Chartered Bank be upheld at all at Bombay it should be on a scale calculated to meet the possible requirements of the commercial community and that the amount of capital should be sufficient to inspire confidence in the undertaking, that they do not consider the existing capital to be more than sufficient for the purpose."

Para. 4—"State also that having regard to the fluctuations of risk which might be incurred by the Bank in such operations they cannot view with favour the proposition of the Directors for making advances on the shares of the Chartered Bank of India and on bills of lading; but that they have no objection to permit them to advance money to the extent of $\frac{3}{4}$ths of their nominal value on shares in such of the Indian Railways as are guaranteed by them with interest."

Valid reasons they are,—though stated in a recondite language. Even now the Central Banks of most of the modern countries do not make any large commitments of their own so far as foreign exchange operations are concerned. It is indeed their bounden duty to stabilise the foreign exchange situation. The watching of the foreign exchange market is one of its cardinal duties. As soon as a drain of gold is threatened it is its bounden duty to restrict credit and discourage borrowing. Similarly when unwanted gold is about to be imported into the banking system it is its duty to relax credit and encourage borrowing. The regulations with reference to the cash reserve of the Central Bank are to see that currency is maintained at gold parity and that contraction of credit takes place as soon as gold leaves the country and reaches the minimum reserve laid down by the law. The necessity to infringe the law makes it alive to its proper duty. Secondly, the necessity of a Central Bank is to keep liquid resources to be of immediate availability to it as occasion arises. The conversion of assets on a large scale would defeat this purpose of the Central Bank. Even a foreign branch is not considered essential to the Central Bank. The Court of Directors never realised that the Bank of Bombay was not entrusted with the currency administration nor did they consider it essential to act as a Central Bank. But for the sake of their prestige they never condescended to allow the bank to lower the capital which after all is the cornerstone of the good will of the Bank. The greater the capital the greater would be the trust imposed in it by the customers. A healthy public confidence can never be generated on insufficient capital.[1] The main business of banking or

[1] Even the " bogus one-room banks " know this. Though their actual paid-up capital amounts to few hundreds they blaze forth their share capital as running into several lakhs. By a common understanding the bank grants advances to the directors and they are put back into the Company as capital and the bank thus gets on paper an imposing paid-up capital and the loans and the advances item also appears simultaneously. Trading on deposits ensues. These depositor's cheques are never paid and after gathering sufficient deposits the bogus banker commits his insolvency and absconds.

See the *Statesman*—" Shady Banker Scandal," October 4th, 1928, p. 9.

conducting foreign exchange is left to others and the modern Central Bank is only a currency authority administering it as a quasi-public institution. Although these high ideals did not trouble the Court of Directers still they seem to have been particularly jealous of safeguarding its credit, technical efficiency and experienced management.

Bank Branch.

It has already been recorded that an attempt was made in 1841 to open a branch in Calcutta. Having been defeated in its object in this direction it did not strive afresh to establish a branch within the territorial limits of the Bombay Presidency. The suggestion to open a branch at Karachi was first made by Mr. (later Sir) Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sind, in his letter to Lord Elphinstone on 23rd May, 1857. The reasons mentioned in the above letter in support of branch extension still hold good at the present day even after the lapse of so many decades. "It would be an immediate boon to the country at large and a very great improvement in our fiscal administration if branches of the Bank of Bombay were to replace the Collectorate Treasuries with their clumsy accounts." This is exactly one of the reasons why the Imperial Bank is allowed to open branches at district headquarters and other places and absorb the sub-treasury or district treasury of the place.

Besides this book-keeping advantage which after all was a minor one, Mr. Frere did not fail to realise that the most important advantage of an extended branch banking policy was the introduction of a well-regulated note currency circulation which would tend much to obviate the present inconvenient and cumbersome mode of making all payments in a silver currency and the natives are ever ready to adopt any change when it may be clearly shown that it is for their advantage to do so.

Thirdly, a bank note circulation "would have afforded a relief to the present drain on Europe for silver and ultimately as

credit instruments become popular would have lessened the drain of silver from Europe eastwards." It is distinct then that there were some shrewd observers who noticed the drain of precious metals to this country and sought to check it by bank expansion. But unfortunately their good advice was not heeded and India, still continues to act as "a sink of precious metals," as some of its critics put it, for foreign investment banking hardly exists in the country even at the present day.[1]

But his zeal to start a branch made him recommend government guarantee for meeting the expenses incurred in the opening of the branch. "The Government guarantee would not after all cause any loss to the Government," argued Mr. Frere. The Bank of Bombay stipulated for this Government guarantee and the Accountant-General who had to examine the above proposition refused to grant the needed sanction. He held the opinion that a run on the branch would be disastrous without the help of the Government Treasury or Mercantile Houses to support it No direct advantage would be derived by the Government out of this step.[2] It was as a result of these unconvincing arguments that this step was given up and until the Act of 1862 gave it extended powers the nature of its business was never changed nor did it launch on any venturesome enterprises as the opening of branches. The Bank of Bengal was however given some allowance as compensation for opening branches.[3]

Relations with the Treasury.

Though there is not a single occasion on which the Bank of Bengal was helped by the Government, still the instances of mutual help between the Bank of Bombay and the Government

[1] See his letter to the Bank of Bombay, 9th June, 1857.

[2] For a further discussion of the subject see my Present Day Banking in India, 3rd Edition, chapter on Banking Resources.

[3] See 1862 Agreement with the Bank of Bengal, quoted in Part I of this monograph, last chapter.

have not been studied by the previous writers and useful inferences drawn out of these positive instances and particular points of contact between the semi-State Bank and the Government.

Firstly, the instances of the bank's help to the Government of Bombay must be studied. On May 14th, 1840, the Bombay Government took a loan of twenty-five lakhs on promissory notes issued to the Bank of Bombay payable after a notice of 90 days given by either party. The Government undertook to pay interest at four per cent. The financial pressure consequent to the declaration of the war against the Sind Chieftains was mainly responsible for this arrangement and as the intitial financial requirements had to be supplied by the Bombay Provincial Government it had to bear this strain.[1] A second loan of twenty lakhs on the same conditions as the first was issued on the 4th September, 1840.

But the financial conditions were not bettered to any extent as the drain necessitated by the Sind War proved too heavy a burden. As further drafts on the bank's loanable resources would have seriously curtailed its lending accommodation to the general businessmen and private borrowers, the Government of Bombay was asked to float Treasury bills and in November 1840 Treasury Bills to the extent of Rs. 2,56,100 were floated. For

[1] The following memorandum makes clear the loaning transactions, No. 239 of 1851-1852, Financial Department, Government Records.

Loan Branch.

Fifty Lakhs of Rs. received from the Bank of Bombay on Loan namely,

On 14th May 1840—	...	Rupees 25,00,000
and on 3rd Sep. 1840—	...	.. 25,00,000
		50,00,000

Eighty notes bearing Nos. 1 to 80 were granted to the Bank for the above loan.

Notes bearing No. 77 and 78 for rupees ten lakhs were subsequently subdivided into fifty-eight notes bearing No. 1-58 of 77 and Nos. 56 to 58 of 78.

The principal and interest of the whole one hundred and thirty-eight notes having been discharged. The notes have been bound up in one Volume which is herewith forwarded for deposit in the General Record Room.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay

Bombay Accountant-General's Office
15th Nov., 1851.

the additional requirements that were needed the Bombay Government had to draw bills on the Calcutta Treasury for financing the Sind War operations.[1]

Numerous were the instances on which the Bank of Bombay was helped by the Government. Attention has been drawn already to the willingness of the Bombay Government to help the bank during the troubled period of a "run" on it in 1848 which was initiated solely as a result of the discovery of forged notes of the bank in the native bazaar.

Very early in the year 1841 the Bank of Bombay found itself subjected to a pressure of bullion and the demand for the bullion capital on the part of the people was so keen that the cash resources were reduced to the legal limit. As additional pressure for bullion was being felt, the bank naturally sought the protection of the Government Treasury. With its assistance five lakhs worth of bank notes were changed into actual cash. The other demands due to the bank were also paid in cash with the result that the cash situation was strengthened and there was no actual real breaking of the rule stated in the charter.

It is indeed a pity that the extreme pressure of 1845 in the Bombay money market has not been commented on by any of the writers. The cash situation of the bank again began to cause great anxiety as it fell below the legal limit by about Rs. 1,23,743. The Bank realised that a forced sale of its securities in a panicky market would mean very heavy loss and to avoid this contingency a loan of Rs. 5 to 10 lakhs was negotiated for on 3rd April, 1845, at four per cent. rate of interest.[2] As the then busy season in the money market was roughly covering three months, a strengthening of the cash situation was felt absolutely inevitable.[3] This application for the loan was sanctioned and the matter was promptly referred to the Supreme Government

[1] See the Financial Consultations, 1840.

[2] See Financial Consultations, Government of India, 1846, Feby., Nos. 35 to 45.

[3] At the present moment the busy season in Bombay extends over 6 months from November to May.

of India. The Governor-General in Council took strong exception to the loan and insisted on the Government abstaining as much as possible from interfering with the dealings of bankers and merchants. He opined that "Government help" would tend to perpetuate bad management. He was labouring under the opinion that the initial mistake lay in the bank's unduly large holding of Government securities. He also held the opinion that "the unchartered banks were solely responsible for this situation. While they issued notes "they depended solely on the Bank of Bombay for the needed cash." He took strong exception to the low rate at which the loan was negotiated. While the bank was lending at six and half per cent. there was no reason why four per cent. alone should be charged for the accommodation. Summing up his objections he finally ordered that "no further assistance of a similar nature was to be given in the future.[1] The Court of Directors simply endorsed the opinion of the Supreme Government.[2]

On the receipt of the Court's letter Mr. J. P. Willoughby, the Secretary of the Government, wrote out a strongly worded minute protesting ably against the sweeping remarks made with reference to the relationship between the Bombay Government and the Bank of Bombay. The character of the monetary stringency was carefully explained and the letter written in reply not only repeats the firm conviction of the Bombay Government but states the correct relationship that ought to exist between the Government and the banks. As he correctly remarked, there is a unity of interest between the Government Bank and the Government which made the Bombay Government afraid to refuse help to the bank in the hour of its trial. "Temporary aid was to be rendered on

[1] See the Financial Letter from the Secretary of the Government of India to the Secretary of the Bombay Government.

[2] See the Letter No, 20 of 1845 from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government.

such occasions when the bank suffered from lack of cash. The Government can easily render aid without either risk or cost and watch over the destinies of the bank and see the general affairs of the bank conducted on safe principles. To quote his own words "that on any sudden and unseen emergency the Banks might rely on the support of the Government while on the other hand the Bank could be prepared to be useful and accommodate Government whenever in its power."

As the bank suffered from lack of cash alone and not from lack of capital it could retrieve its position immediately. It not only repaid the loan on 29th May, 1845, but during the course of a month the cash reserve of the bank soon rose to 1 lakh 31 thousand 8 hundred and 92 rupees more than [1] the legal sum which it had to keep according to Act III of 1840.

Such views expressed in such strong language in defiance of their cherished opinions naturally provoked the Court to reply in strong terms. The Court of Directors objected strongly to these sentiments on the ground that they disclose "a want of banking knowledge" and protested against the satement that "public res ources should occasionally be made subservient to the interests of the Bank in order to save the proprietors from the loss arising out of sale of Government securities."

Another point of criticism was that "the Bank actually kept on an average twenty-one lakhs as cash reserve and this was too low while Government securities were being held in invariably too large figures for banking operations. This evidently was imprudent management." It also remarked that in future "the Bank should so conduct its business as not to seek the aid of Government under any circumstances."

"We do not consider that the explanation of the Government as regards Bank Directors to acquit the Government

[1] See the Financial Letter from the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors, 29th May, 1845.

Directors of blame in having sanctioned the continuance of an excessive investment of funds belonging to the Bank in Government securities which occasionally amounted to more than 70 lakhs of rupees and which, notwithstanding the partial reduction of amount noticed, exceeded the total capital of the Bank, until the month of April last when it still amounted to Rupees 4,91,523. That the interests of the proprietors have been consulted by this measure is alleged as one excuse for the impropriety, is to our mind no extenuation of the irregularity, for one object of the Government Directors being placed at that Board evidently was to see that no private or temporary considerations should be permitted to operate to the embarrassment or detriment of the Institutions or of the public interests which are so intimately involved in the maintenance of its credit and efficiency."

"We are of opinion that the Government Directors of the Bank should be chosen from the highest ranks of our Civil Service and the Accountant-General should always be one of them."[1]

In spite of these repeated injunctions the Bombay Government not only wisely determined to help the bank at the time of the run in 1848 but actually helped the bank in 1865.

Relations with the Bank of Bengal.

It is indeed a pity that the Bombay Bank's loan from the Bank of Bengal remains unrecorded by the existing writers on banking.[2] It affords us not only an instance of banking co-operation in those olden days which ought to be revived in these present days but certain legal consequences ensued out of this

[1] See the Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, 22nd September, 1846. As a matter of fact the Accountant-General and the Secretary to the Government in the Finance Department were always *ex-officio* directors of the Presidency Banks.

[2] See Financial Consultation, No. 8, 1850 (Bombay Government). See also Symes Scutt alone mentions this but passes by this fact as an event of no importance.

action. The Bombay Bank deposited five lakhs worth of Government securities and took a loan from the Bank of Bengal in 1850 but it was held that Section 25 of the Charter did not grant such privilege to mortgage its assets and borrow on the same for helping its operations. Mr. C. R. M. Jackson, the legal luminary who was consulted by the Governor-General in Council, decided that the Presidency Bank was legally unable to pledge its securities to raise loans.[1] As a result of the disability the Presidency Banks were never able to borrow locally from each other or even in London to ease the stringency in the Indian money markets. It was only in 1920 that the Imperial Bank of India was empowered by rules in its charter to pledge its securities in London and borrow on its assets for its banking operations.

Bank Returns.

Although the previous writers have stated that the Government reserved to itself ample powers of control including the right to inspect the books of the bank and that half-yearly returns were insisted upon by the Government to enable it to understand their progress and state of business, the particular type insisted upon by the Government has not been recorded by the previous writers. In July, 1843, the Governor-General in Council sent in a letter asking the bank to furnish monthly balance sheets of a particular type exhibiting the bank's position on the last day of each month in addition to half-yearly returns.[2] In order to understand the detailed nature of its operations and to know the particulars required from the bank, one statement is quoted at random from the numerous monthly returns sent in by the bank to the Government.

[1] This was removed only in 1878 and the power to borrow in India was granted but it remained a dead letter due to the restricted nature of the local money markets. See Sir Clinton Dawkin's statement in the Legislative Council, 1900, the Financial General Letter of Bengal to the Court and Directors, 7th February, 1851, Paras. 86, 87 and 88.

[2] See Financial Consultation No. 31, 1843.

Bank of Bombay Monthly Return.

Submitted to the Government of India on October 31st, 1843.

ASSETS.

Col. I. Date.	*Col. II.* Bills discounted.			*Col. III.* Loans on Deposit.		
	Private.	Govt.	Total.	Of Govt. securities.	Of private securities.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Oct. 31st, 1843.	4,14,212	26,077	4,40,289	1,72,595	24,410	1,97,005

Col. IV. Accounts of Credits.		*Col. V.* Total advances.	*Col. VI.* Cash balance.
On deposit of Govt. sects.	On deposit of private securities.		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
7,39,640	1,654	1,37,858	69,91,514

INVESTMENT IN GOVT. SECURITIES.

Col. VII.			*Col. VIII.*	*Col. IX.*
Co.'s Rs. Co.'s paper 4 per cent.	5 per cent.	5 Rs. 4 per cent.	Remaining Miscellaneous Assets including Govt. stock.	Total Assets of the Bank.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
27,56,000	21,60,200	2,40,600	6,14,152	14,141,054

LIABILITIES.

Bank Notes and Post Bills.

Col. I. Notes outstanding.	*Col. II.* Post-bills outstanding.	*Col. II.* Aggregate balances of accts. C/dests. of whatever nature.	*Col. III.* Total liabilities repayable on demand.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5,39,95,915	14,918	34,04,108	88,17,621

Bank Rates of Business.

Col. IV. DISCOUNT CHARGED.		*Col. V.* INTEREST CHARGED.		
Govt. Bills	Private Bills.	On loans on deposit of goods and metals.	Accts. of credit on deposit of Govt. securities.	Interest charged on Accts. of credit on deposit of goods and metals.
5 per cent. and 4 per cent.	6 per cent.	6 per cent.	5 per cent.	6 per cent.

Bank Notes.

Issued betn. 1st and 31st	Received betn. 1st and 31st	In circulation on 31st October		
Rs.	Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Notes for	
65,44,350	49,88,265	,, 10	Rs.	75,660
		,, 20	,,	50,960
		,, 25	,,	69,775
		,, 50	,,	1,67,800
		,, 100	,,	7,16,900
		,, 500	,,	7,26,500
		,, 1000	,,	23,97,000
		,, 5000	,,	10,95,000
		,, 10000	,,	1,00,000
			Rs.	53,99,595

[1] See Financial Consultations No. 31, 1843.

Bye-laws.

After establishing the fact that the Bank of Bombay is much indebted to the earlier experience of the Bank of Bengal, it follows easily that the bank met with success from the very early start as it closely followed the footsteps of the more experienced Presidency Bank of Bengal. A sound charter, economical management, perfect willingness to follow the footsteps of the experienced Presidency Bank, and the co-operation of the Government as well its customers, led to its prosperity from the very beginning and the evasion of bad debts was rendered possible by virtue of its good bye-laws.

Before studying its bye-laws a statistical proof of the above fact is essential. The following figures taken from the balance sheets of the Bank of Bombay amply illustrate my statement. The steady growth of its business can be easily inferred.

Assets.

	Rs.	A.	P.
First balance sheet 30th June 1840 ...	75,93,016	9	6
31st Dec. 1840 ...	86,52,434	7	6
31st Dec. 1841 ...	86,81,167	9	6
31st Dec. 1842 ...	95,56,155	9	6
31st Dec. 1843 ...	1,56,89,082	15	6

Within this brief period of three years it almost doubled its assets. Considering the fact that the deposit habit was not thoroughly established at that time on the part of the public, this phenomenal success must undoubtedly be attributed to the features already mentioned. The absence of competing rivals must have been another cause favouring its steady growth. Attention will be drawn to this fact in a succeeding chapter which deals with the private banks of Bombay during this period.

From 1840 to 1860 the Bank of Bombay enjoyed prosperity under the able direction of Mr. John Stewart.[1] The credit of passing good laws must be attributed to him. It is indeed

[1] Mr. Stewart was the Bank's Accountant till 1842 and became the Secretary in 1842, and continued to hold this post as the Secretary and Treasurer till March 1860.

true that similar bye-laws governed the practice of the Presidency Banks but the faithful observance of the same is a matter of no small credit.[1] Even a rough idea of the wise bye-laws is not to be gathered by reading the older text-books on the subject. To quote the most salient of these bye-laws "money could not be advanced to anyone excepting the Bank were fully secured by Government securities or railway guaranteed shares. There was a private discount list which was useful in limiting the bills that could be discounted for individual customers. This information was usually kept in the 'Opinion Book' which was thrown open to directors alone. In the purchase of native hundies the opinion of the brokers or the native directors who were thoroughly aware of the wealth and financial standing and character of the parties was sought. The discounting of the negotiable securities on which the responsibility of two persons did not appear was not allowed. No negotiable security could be discounted which had a longer time to run than three months. No money was to be lent on any bank share or certificates of bank or other shares. No discount, loan or cash credit to any individual or parties of the firm could be made in any way beyond three lakhs. No discount or loans could be granted unless the readily available cash in the immediate provision of the bank was at least one-fourth of all the demand liabilities against the Bank outstanding at that time. No person could overdraw his account at any time."

This great body of bye-laws undoubtedly prevented the bank from conducting unsound operations but they might also have

[1] It was so successfully conducted that during the whole of this period the Bank of Bombay did not lose more than Rs. 20,000. This is the estimate af Mr. A. K. Corfield given by him before the Sir C. Jackson Committee, p. 329. The Report of the same Committee estimates it at a higher figure namely Rs. 25,000. This evidently must be taken as an authoritative estimate. See para. 1 of the Report of the Committee. The following extract from a minute of 7th April 1845, signed by V. H. Crawford and L. R. Reid, shows that "Not one bad debt has yet been contracted by the Bank." W. Willoughby in his confidential memorandum says that "only one bill was dishonoured during the whole course of five years."—Financial Consultation No. 36, Ft. William, 13th Feb., 1846.

limited " its capacity to do a great amount of good to the commercial public." The Act of 1862 widened its scope of operations and rendered unnecessary the excessive investment of funds in Government securities which often proved easily unrealisable into cash at any moment of necessity. Mr. S. D. Birch who realised this difficulty was instrumental in securing a revision of its charter in 1862 and free it from the shackles of the strait jacket as the earlier charter might be styled.

By 1863 the mercantile demand for accommodation increased greatly as a result of the introduction of endless schemes and Joint-stock Companies induced by the plethora of wealth which was secured by the Bombay Cotton merchants and dealers as a result of the American Civil War which tended to cut off the supplies of American Cotton to the European Cotton Industry. So the Government granted a new charter on the ground that the old one of 1840 was found "in many respects inconvenient, imperfect, and unnecessarily restrictive." Enlarged powers were given to the bank as regards the increase of capital. It was made independent of all Government control and new kinds of business could be undertaken. The power "to lend on shares of public companies in India" was granted. Unlimited advances on personal security could also be made. These clauses proved the "flood-gates of the Bank's ruin."

The capital was subsequently increased to the full limit allowed, £,000 which included the original capital. The Government shares were raised from 300 to 600. It was again increased to 1,200 shares. The bank, however, began to experience difficulties in May, 1865, and in spite of Government help could not retrieve its position. The Government had to render aid not only on the ground of its being a shareholder but to save its own credit and avoid political and financial complications which may arise out of its failure. The general share mania and failure

as the result of the cotton[1] collapse knocked the bottom out of the securities on which the loans were made. It fell as a peal of thunder on them. Payment of pretended profit out of real capital was made in 1866 just to make a show that everything was going on, on right lines. It was however felt that the capital was too large for sound business and the Directors' suggestion to reduce the capital to I E mil was approved by the Government and Act I of 1867 permitted this reduction. Even this however proved too large and a further reduction was proposed in August, 1867. Though the Act 15 of 1866 repealed the clause permitting the bank to make loans on the shares of public companies in India on the ground that this objectional power was not in conformity with the privileges of the other Presidency Banks, nothing could be done to save the bank. A severe run on the bank took place in February, 1867, and deposits to the extent of 169 lakhs were withdrawn. It could be stopped only by the Governor-General in Council permitting the Bombay Government to lend 150 lakhs out of its funds. A sum of £1 mil. was actually placed in its hands. This was the second time the Government had to aid the Bank of Bombay. The Report of the Bombay Bank, dated 8th August, 1867, which was almost " a funeral oration " and can be considered as " a dying speech and confession," plainly admits that two causes were responsible for the failure, *viz.*, those arising out of special and general causes. The six elected directors were representing practically one group of particular interest and the election was always managed in such a way as to secure for them a preponderating majority. There was again no limit to the powers of

[1] About 118 public companies failed in 1865 and they had an aggregate nominal capital of upwards of £50 mil. See the pamphlet "The late Government of Bombay : Its history, p. 15. A copy of this exists in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. It is written by an anonymous writer. Symes Scutt also gives a graphic description of the crisis of 1865 and 1866. The crisis arose as an abuse of credit accompanied by excessive speculation and the diversion of capital from its legitimate purposes were the inevitable results which followed the undue expansion of companies having in too many instances unsound foundations. During the crisis of 1866 six important banks were closed and the bank rate rose to 18%. 60 days' bills on Bombay were sold at 25 to 30% discount in the Calcutta money market.

the Secretary in respect of loans and advances. So far as the general causes were concerned the increase of capital when it was not actually needed for legitimate banking purposes was the chief one. The enactment of Act 28 of 1865 which enabled the dishonest debtor to obtain a ready discharge through the Court was a contributory cause for it disabled the bank directors to retrieve the position of the bank. Another legislative measure which contributed a good deal towards unsound management was the permission granted to lend on shares of public companies.

Not satisfied with this explanation the Bombay Government appointed a Commission to enquire into the causes of the failure. After a searching inquiry extending into the most minute details of the bank's operations and practices it came to the general conclusion that " the Act X of 1863 removed many of the earlier restrictions permitting the Bank to transact business of an unsafe character. There was an abuse of the power by weak and unprincipled secretaries acting under the influence of a designing native director, Premchand Roychand. The President and directors were negligent, failed to do their duty and omitted to pass bye-laws and did not exercise proper supervision and control over the Bank and its secretaries and they did not ascertain how the business was carried on. The very exceptional nature of the times and the absence of sound legal advice and assistance were no less responsible for its failure than the incapacity [1] of directors who were not conversant with banking business."

While the general reasons convey an idea of the circumstances which led to its failure the laxity of management which prevailed can only be understood by a thorough study of the oral statement of the witnesses before the Sir C. Jackson Committee. A few such glaring instances can be quoted for these can serve as beacons to existing banking institutions.

[1] See para. 47, Report of the Sir C. Jackson Committee.

Loans which could not be obtained at the head office could be secured easily at the branches without the cognisance of the directors. Employees of the bank were freely allowed to have many other side-lines of business. Their having too many irons in the fire was almost the chief reason why adequate attention was not paid to details. Lavish expense was made on bank buildings at Karachi. Loans of 25 lakhs of Rupees were made to Premchand Roychand on the co-operation of five leading banks but not on their guarantee, although he was known to be thoroughly insolvent at that time. This was done with the full knowledge, if not at the instigation, of the Government directors. Granting cash credits on personal security, *i.e.*, promissory note signed by the borrower was freely pursued. Discounting promissory notes without any additional security was indulged in. Above all the Government itself soon relaxed its tightening grip even after its first interference and timely help in 1865. It kept quite and tacitly acquiesced in the reduction of capital. The Government Directors forgot "common prudence" and proved unequal to their position in 1864, 1865 and 1866.[1] These are the very pitfalls to be avoided by the modern joint-stock banks if they are to prevent any widespread disaster from overtaking them. It would be impossible to retrieve the position of a bank however skilful and cautious the latter-day management might be in avoiding these venturesome tasks, when the earlier management is thoroughly unsound. During days of credit inflation and risky business expansion similar to those which the Bank of Bombay experienced, it is the duty of every cautious banker to convert his assets into liquid condition, pay off his borrowings with correspondent banks and clean up bills payable at the Central Bankers. He should suggest a similar line of action to his business customers and dissuade, as far as it is possible for him to do, large extension of capital, heavy

[1] See Sir W. Mansfield's and the Finance Member Mr. Massey's Minute on the failure of the Bank of Bombay in 1867.

commitments of raw material, large labour forces and over-extended and too liberal credit terms to these customers. It is just the opposite line of action that the prudent banker has to pursue whenever there is business or industrial depression in society.

In addition to this self-protection it is the duty of the banker to check further over-production in society. The banker can afford to do it by virtue of his very wide and general information about finance, production, marketing, consumption and other economic aspects of life. As T. Veblen says, "the banker belongs to the class of pecuniary experts whose business is the strategic management of interested business relations of the economic system." It is the banker's bounden duty to introduce proper system and order into the "alleged planlessness of the competitive, capitalistic and profit economy."

(Concluded)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

RELIGIOUS CULTS AND LITERATURE OF MEDIÆVAL BENGAL

Religion has always been the guiding force in all spheres of activities, literary or otherwise, of the people of Bengal. Never before in her history had it been discernible better than in the mediaeval period (*i.e.*, 13th-18th centuries)[1] when the Bengali literature, specially its poetry branch,[2] reached a high stage of development unparalleled in any other epoch. The impetus given by various local cults developed our literature to an amazing degree owing to a large number of poets composing laudatory verses, each of them writing in honour of the deity he worshipped. Thus arose our Sivāyana and Mangal-Ḳāvyas which are purely indigenous in character, not to speak of two other branches of literature, *viz.*, metrical Bengali translations mainly of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata and the Vaisnava Literature with its wealth of historical writings and unique lyrical productions. It was in the peculiar faith in God and the Brahmins and the resignation of the people to them (as exhibited in the indigenous literature of this period) as well as the patronage of the foreign rulers extended to our literature, that the Mediaeval period differed so much from the ancient literary period. In

[1] It should be noted that the mediaeval period in Europe began in the latter part of the 5th century and ended in the middle of 15th century A.D. while in Bengal the mediaeval period properly speaking began with the advent of the Mahomedans in Bengal in 1199 A.D. (conquest of Navadwip by Md. Bin Bakhtyar Khilji) and ended in the middle of the 18th century (Battle of Plassey) if we fix any arbitrary date.

[2] The mediaeval Bengali literature deals almost wholly with metrical Bengali. Prose literature, so to speak, really started right earnestly with the establishment of the Fort William College at the beginning of the 19th century.

order to ascertain the significance of the literary activities of the people it is proper to study the various cults which existed in Bengal in the period mentioned above and so these Bengali cults are described here cursorily.

The religious activities of the period may be divided into two classes, *viz.*, (1) Buddhistic and (2) Pauranik. It should be noticed, however, that no rigid line of demarcation can be drawn between these two, as often enough both Buddhism and Pauranik Hinduism existed side by side, sometimes with amity and rarely with discord.[1] However, Buddhism being then in a decadent stage Pauranik renaissance imprinted its deep mark clearly on the Buddhistic cult and the literature which progressed as the Moslem rule advanced in Bengal.

Degenerate Tantrikism prevailed in Bengal after the fall of Buddhism in the 9th and the 10th centuries. Tantrikism pure and simple had some scientific background. However much pure originally it had been, it degenerated in later days when it sanctioned hideous performances and repulsive debaucheries of all sorts.[2]

The Bengali literature was at one time full of mystic tantrik sayings very difficult to understand. Dāk-Tantra, popularly known as Dāker-Vachan contains many such passages which are not easy to comprehend. In Goraksha-Vijaya (pp. 188-195) may be found very abstruse tāntrik ideas in the garb of queries and answers. It is very peculiar that the tāntrik mysticism, which seems to us so difficult to understand now, was not considered so even by the common people of the early mediaeval period. This may be guessed from the extensive prevalence of the tāntrik ideas in the literature of the period, such as, Goraksha-Vijaya, Minchetan, Sunya-Purāṇa, Mayanāmatir Gan and similar other works. This Tāntrikism, in course of time, commingled with

[1] See Niranjaner Rusmā, Sunya Purāṇa.
[2] See Narottam Vilas, Canto VII.

all the cults of the mediaeval Bengal, whether Buddhistic or Pauranik.

(A) Buddhistic Cults.

(1) *The Dharma Cult.*

The degenerate Tāntrik-Buddhistic cult of the Mahāyāna school was known in this country as the Dharma cult. Whether this cult was really Mahāyāna Buddhism itself with a changed name or quite a separate local cult with Buddhistic stamp only, we cannot finally say. The former is an old theory while the latter is a new one with staunch believers on both sides. It is most peculiar that traces of the Dharma cult are only to be found in West Bengal and not in the East or North Bengal. The earliest treatise on the cult, *viz.*, Sunya-Purāṇa by Ramai Pandit perhaps belongs to the 10th century A.D.[1] and contains very early fragments of Bengali Prose. That the cult was considerably Buddhistic is evident from such lines of the Sunya-Purāṇa as "ধর্ম্মরাজ যজ্ঞ নিন্দা করে" (the God Dharma speaks ill of the sacrificial rites) and "শ্রীধর্ম্মদেবতা সিংহলে বহুত সম্মান" (the God Dharma is much respected in Ceylon). That the Tāntrikism of a degenerate kind entered into it may be proved from the rites enjoined in the "Dharma-Puja Paddhati." In the tāntrik worship self-mortification is predominant. The "Sādhaka" (the votary) sometimes gives up his own head to the object of worship but such instances are not found in pure Buddhism where 'Himsā' of any kind is disallowed. We find a devout worshipper like king Bhumichandra sacrificing his own head to his object of worship, the God Dharma. Another grotesque example is found in the repulsive cooking of a prince's (Luichandra's) flesh by his dear mother Madanā herself. This was done to satisfy the God Dharma in the guise of a Brahmin guest. This latter story, to be found in the Dharmamangal poems (see Ghanaram, p. 38),

[1] The date is a disputed one, especially with a view to the fact that the only extant manuscript raises suspicions of interpolations of a much later period.

reminds one of Prince Brisa ketu's story as contained in the Mahābhārata.

(2) *The Sahajiyā Cult.*

The Sahajiya cult which arose from Tāntrik Buddhism was a most peculiar feature of the religious annals of Bengal. It was based on such tantras as Mantrajān, Bajrajān, and Kālachakrajān-all being generally known as Sahjāmnāya. Some Tantras written in Bengali have recently been recovered by MM. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri from Nepal. These are Vajra-Dāk-Tantra, Chariyā-Chariya Vinischaya, Vodicharyyāvatāra, and others. The tantras mentioned here belonged to the particular creed known as "Sahajāmnāya" as mentioned above, and became, in course of time, popularly known as Sahajiyā. Kanu Bhatta, the writer of the "Chariyā-chariya-vinischaya," was the earliest Sahajiyā Buddhistic writer on the subject. From Kanu Bhatta's writings it may be imagined that the Sahajiyās tried to attain perfection through the satisfaction of their carnal desires. According to them these passions are natural to human beings and as such they sought perfection through them (*vide* Sastri's newly discovered Tantras from Nepal). The Sahajyiās were once much hated as it seems from the epithet "বৌদ্ধপাষণ্ড" given to them by the people. (See Mālatimādhava, Prabodh-chandrodaya and some other Sanskrit Dramas.) The Vaisnava Sahajiyā was a later development and Chandidas was its greatest apostle. Many of his lines sparkle with a very sublime idea[1] which is the essence of Vaisnava Sahajiyā though not of the Buddhistic Sahajiyā. Love for a woman and especially for one who is not one's wife is the cardinal principle of the Sahajiyā.

[1] (*a*) সহজ সহজ সবাই কহয় সহজ জানিবে কে।
কলঙ্ক সাগর যে হইয়াছে পার সহজ জেনেছে সে॥
চণ্ডীদাস।

(The word "Sahaj" is on everybody's lips but who can realise its proper significance? He who has crossed the sea of 'Kalanka' (ill-repute) has really been able to understand it).

(*b*) কোটিতে গোটিক হয়।—চণ্ডীদাস।

(Among a crore of so-called Sahajiyās only one may be found to be the real one.)

According to this theory pure love can only be possible between pair who are not connected in society as husband and wife. To attain such a love one must experience all the earthly pangs and sufferings (কলঙ্ক) like a martyr. Such love is " Parakiyā " which is, according to the Sahajiyās, more fine and selfless than " Swakiyā," *i.e.*, that between a husband and his wife, the connection being imposed upon the pair by society. The lines of Chandidas—

শুনহে মানুষ ভাই।
সবার অধিক মানুষ বড়,
তাহার অধিক নাই ॥ [1]

(Listen to me, oh man. Man stands supreme over all and no other creation is superior to him)—show in what high respect man as man was regarded by Chandidas.

This Sahajiyā cult gradually degenerated and became a vehicle of illict relations between Vaisnavas of opposite sexes known as "Neḍā-Neḍis" (shaven-headed beings), the name being adopted from the Buddhist monks and nuns who used to shave their heads.

The Sahajiyā literature such as Ānandabhairab, Amritaratnābali, Amrita-rasāvali, etc., forms a very considerable portion of the Vaisnava literature and numerous tāntrik theories are mixed up with it.

According to some scholars,[1] the modern Sahajiyā (Vaisnava) doctrine of Bengal is distinctly Post-Chaitanya in origin. A belief has somehow gained ground that it originated from the Buddhist Sahajiyā doctrine; but this theory is based on imperfect knowledge of the spirit and principles of the Vaisnava Sahajiyā doctrine. People generally speak of the Sahajiyās as a sect who do nothing else but observe mystic practices with ' Parakiyā '

1 *Vide* Post-Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal by M. M. Bose.

women. In this aspect of culture, which may properly be called the later form of tāntrikism, the Sahajiyās have undoubtedly many things similar to those advocated by the Buddhist Sahajiyās. But the spirit of the two cults are quite different. Whereas the Vaisnava Sahajiyās culture love in the company of women, the Buddhist Sahajiyās cultivate knowledge being associated with women as "Uttar-Sādhikās." The real truth is that the idea of the culture of love can scarcely be traced in the literature, either of the Buddhist Sahajiyās or of the tāntriks. The latter cultivated Sakti and the Buddhists sought Jnāna ; but the Vaisnavas cultivated love and this is the distinguishing feature of the modern Sahajiyā doctrine of Bengal. This idea of love in the domain of religion was first preached in Bengal by Chaitanya and the Sahajiyās later on adopted love as the object of culture. This is the essential feature of the modern Vaisnava Sahajiyā doctrine.

(3) *Ths Nātha Cult* :.

Nāthism was another peculiar cult of the period. It was a cult of saint-worship and followed by the Yogis—a caste once occupying rather a high position, but now degraded. The Saints or Gurus such as Minanath, Gorakshanath, Kālupā, Hāḍipā and others were once much esteemed by this Yogis (see Mayanāmatir Gān, Gopichāndrer Git, Mānikchandra Rājār Gān, Goraksha-Vijaya, Min-chetan, etc., etc.).

The followers of Nāthism were essentially Buddhistic as they also worshipped the God Dharma who might be Buddha himself or very much Buddhistic in character. (See Mayanāmatir Gān and Mānik Chandra Rājār Gān). Saivism and Nāthism have also much in common especially when we see the Nātha Guru Minanath overhear the mystic knowledge that was going to be imparted to Gauri, Siva's consort, by the God Siva himself (see Gorakshavijaya). Affinity between the two cults might still be seen in Nepal.

(B) The Paurānik Cults.

(1) *The Vaisnava Oult.*

The Paurānik Hindus are divided into five groups, *viz.*, the Gānapatyas, the Sauris, the Saivas, the Sāktas and the Vaisnavas. Of these five the followers of the God Ganapati as a separate group do not exist in Bengal. Of the other four, only traces of Sun worship (by the Sauris) are to be found in Bengal. These may be gleaned from the peculiar rhymes called the the Bratakathās, chiefly current in Backerganj side. Among the remaining three, the Vaisnavas received great impetus at the hands of Chaitanya whose sublime teachings imparted a new lease of life to the religious fervour of the Bengali people. It was at the hands of his companion Nityananda and his (Nityananda's) son Birchandra that the Vaisnava cult received a new interpretation and the Vaisnava sect was really built up. Chaitanyism gave the Bengal Vaisnavas the name of Gauriya Vaisnavas (a new type of Vaisnavas) and the historical-biographical works, *viz.*, Chaitanya-Bhāgavata, Chaitanya-Charitāmrita, Bhaktiratnākar and Prembilās, besides a host of other valuable writings are living monuments to the intellectual progress of the community. Besides the lyrical productions the Padas of Chandidas, Jnanadas, Balaram Das, Govinda Das and a number of other Padakartās stand incomparable in the annals of the literature of the world. Vaisnavism stood against caste-orthodoxy and revolutionised the Bengali Hindu society and produced a literature unique in every respect. However, the Vaisnava literature came out of social-religious reforms, while the translation literature (*e.g.*, translations of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata) was the mainstay of the orthodox Hindu community and both the activities although almost simultaneous with the indigenous literature, around which clustered so many cults, came a bit late. The local cults

chiefly fostered indigenous literature and thus originated the Sivāyanas and the Mangal-Kāvyas, the latter partly devoted to extolling the God Dharma and partly or rather chiefly adoring the Goddesses of the Sākta cult. (The Dharma cult and the Dharmamangal Kāvyas have already been referred to.) Now let us mention here the remaining two cults, *viz.*, the Saiva and the Sākta (the others having been already described above) [1] and the literature peculiar to each of them :—

(2) *The Saiva Cult.*[2]

Between the Saiva and the Sākta cults the former is more ancient in Bengal. A time came when the Saiva and the Sākta cults, though originally at loggerheads, compromised and Siva occupied the position of the husband of Sakti or Durgā. The Sunya Purana (10th century A.D.?) incidentally refers to the God Siva and contains some fine devotional lines in this connection. Besides the Sunya Purana, a class of literature grew up around Siva known as the Sivāyana literature of which the Sivāyanas of Rāmeswar and Ramkrisna are the most famous. A word may be said about the conception of the God Siva in Bengal. With the rural poets Siva became the God of agriculture and lost all Vedic prestige. Owing to the action and reaction of mutual influences among the rival cults, Siva was partly endowed with the attributes of the Buddha and thus we find Siva in meditation. According to some Siva in the Vedic days was known as the fierce God Rudra. But it has recently been found out that Siva has no connection with the Vedic Rudra who was a different god. The worship of Siva was current among the Dravidian people in the Deccan, long before the introduction of the Aryan Pantheon. (See Saivism and Vaisnavism, Bhandarkar.) Various vulgar attributes were sometimes given by the

[1] Vidyonmāda-tarangini by Chiranjiva Bhattacharyya furnishes an excellent picture of different Hindu cults in connection with their religious controversies.

[2] It is peculiar that though in each cult the principal deity was reverenced other subordinate deities were not ignored.

people to the god Siva and thus we get "হরপার্ব্বতীর কোন্দল" and "বাগ্দিনীর পালা." Thus the God had two sides—one local and another Paurānik, in his nature. The attribute of inaction that the God Siva took owing to Buddhistic influence made the God lose all charm for the people, which resulted in the gradual elimination of the Saiva cult from any place of importance. The downfall perhaps became rapid with the advent of Islam in Bengal. Islamites always found help from the Almighty and so did the followers of the Sākta cult, but Saivites never received any active help from their god which was one of the reasons for the rapid rise of the Sākta cult and the gradual elimination of the god Siva from any position of importance. Examples are not rare to prove this point from the Manasāmangal poems, where Chand, the devout follower of Siva, suffered so much without receiving any help from his god, whereas, the follower of Manasā and Chandi received immense help from their respective deities. (*Vide* the Manasāmangal and the Chandi-Kāvyas in which Behula, Srimanta, Kalketu and others secured immediate help from their respective goddesses in times of need.)

(3) *The Sākta Cult.*

The Sākta cult, though of hoary antiquity, could not at first make much headway in Bengal, as Saiva cult held sway upon the upper classes of Bengali Hindus while the Sākta cult was in vogue among the humbler ranks of the Hindus only and possibly in Non-Aryan homes. However, as regards antiquity, the Sākta cult perhaps ranks foremost. There was a time when Sakti worship was current amongst almost all the civilized and ancient nations. Traces of Sakti-worship have been discovered in the eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea. Dr. Evans found it in Crete. According to B. Mazumdar, the current non-Aryan Kumāri Puja of the Sambalpur District of Orissa has something to do with the Durga Puja of Bengal. The Sakti cult or mother-worship probably flourished at one time among the nomadic

nations where marriages were hasty and the union of the couple was temporary owing to nomadic tendency. The child then could only know the mother and not so much the father. The goddesses Durgā and Tārā may have some Non-Aryan origin. (See p. 12, Introduction, Modern Buddhism.)

It is very peculiar that the Dharma worshippers did not usually take to the Paurānik Sākta Pujas with a good grace as is evidenced from the lines of Dharmamangal poems wherein the Sakti-worshipper Ichhai Ghosh of Dhekur is badly beaten by the Imperial army of Gaur headed by Lausen (the devout Dharma-worshipper). The story is significant enough for our present purpose. That the Sākta cult was introduced into the homes of the rich merchant community by the ladies of the house after much trouble and that their Saiva husbands were at first unwilling to accept it, may be learnt from a perusal of the Manasāmangal poems. Evidently the two cults of the Saiva and the Sakta were at first not on good terms (see Vidyonmāda-tarangini) and their rival position is lucidly exemplified in the Mangal-Kāvyas such as those of Chandi and Manasā, but curiously enough the two effected a compromise in later days, when Sakti became identified as the wife of Siva and the doctrine of 'Purusa and Prakriti' was brought forward for the support of this idea. Unlike Siva, Chandi, Manasā and other female deities, were very much active to help their votaries when in distress. They were also no less active in their jealousies and rivalries amongst themselves. (See Kavikankan Mukundaram's Chandi-Kāvya and Bangsidas's Manasāmangal among other works.)

That the goddesses Chandi, Manasā and other deities of the Sākta cult, were afterwards brought to a footing of compromise may be inferred from the following lines about Manasā in Bangsidas's Padmā Purān (Manasāmangal) :—

যেই দুর্গা সেই তুমি জগতের মাতা।
অভেদ চণ্ডিকা তুমি নাহিক অন্যথা ॥

Bangsidas. p. 193.

There is no difference between you, oh mother of the world, and the goddess Durgā. You (Manasā) and Chandikā are one and the same goddess. There is not the least doubt about it.

Bangsidas's Padmā Purān, p. 193.

This, in short, is a brief sketch of the more important cults of mediæval Bengal, which will incidentally show to what extent our Bengali literature is indebted to them and to what extent our society has been moulded by their mutual rivalries and jealousies.

TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

DARIO'S SONG

(From the Operetta "Gloria Romano")

Where once I roved with joyous heart
I view with eyes of gloomy mien ;
Ah ! oft the blinding tear-drops start
When memory brings a happy scene.
Or in the echo of a shout
Whose gladness only brings me pain
A well-loved whisper stealeth out
To wake the long-dead past again !

Oft in the wavering candle-light
Within my tiny garret bare,
I strive with all my puny might
To paint Love's sacred image there;
But O ! my brush hath no such skill
To shape an image just as pure,
Or give it such a rapture, till
O'er everything it would endure,'

I hear the bell of Citrine ring
It soundeth o'ermuch like a knell.
To me, no gladness doth it bring,
But folds me in a gloomy spell.
O God ! To paint—to carve—to mould,
My haste Thy gifts eluded me?
One life to serve, to love—to hold,
And give unto Eternity !

LELAND J. BERRY

INDIAN FINANCES

Mr. Layton's Scheme Examined

Coming next to the important items of expenditure in the central Government's budget, we are faced at the very outset with the cost of India's defence of the total income of the Government of India, which according to the current year's budget estimate is expected to be Rs. 90·23 crores, the expenditure on miltary services of all descriptions is Rs. 54·35 crores, which works out at nearly 62½% of the total; though Sir W. Layton thought that he was not authorized to express an opinion on the policy underlying this huge expenditure on the Army in India, he has been constrained to admit, and thereby to lend weight to the contention of Indian critics, that "it is evident that the dominant factor" in the Indian Financial situation is her disproportionately large expenditure on defence, the fact being that the proportion it bears to the general revenues is as large as that in any other country, notwithstanding the palpably low economic position of the country when compared with all those other countries. And all this while the expenditure on essential national services is comparatively very low, and therefore the opportunities for increasing her productive capacity are comparatively narrowed down. There need be no doubt or hesitation, as such, in agreeing with Sir W. Layton's diagnosis when he says that "economically speaking, it is the most burdensome of expenditures," that "it cannot promote productive efficiency" and that our military expenditure "had risen more rapidly than in other parts of the Empire." Add to this the two facts that, firstly a high proportion of the cost is incurred primarily in the

interests of, or for purposes which directly concern, Indian defence but for the entirely extraneous purpose of imperial defence, and secondly, much of the cost is unnecessarily kept high owing to the policy of deliberate and scrupulous avoidance of the introduction of a larger Indian element into the Indian Army and the elimination of the high-paid British officers and men, and the burdensome character of the expenditure on the army becomes completely exposed.

This fundamental fact of the Indian defence problem has been having undesirable repurcussions on the capacity of the Indian finances to meet increased expenditure on essential, public and nation-building services like Public Health, Education Sanitation, etc., which have the merit, as has already been pointed out, of adding to the productive capacity of the nation, especially at the present time, when, compared with other countries, such expenditure is very low and needs to be increased. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, to recognize, as Sir Walter Layton has recognized, that economies should be introduced into the Army Department, that the expenditure on the army should be curtailed by the inauguration of the necessary reforms and that the money so released should be spent on social services, which are being starved at present.

There are two ways in which economies could be introduced : (*i*) the British Exchequer should be charged with the cost of that portion of the army which is being maintained in India for purely imperial purposes, and (*ii*) the British Government should be made to pay for the training of the officers of that part of the Indian army which is not for entirely Indian purposes. And, again there are two reforms which will, if introduced, also result in a considerable reduction of the burden of the Army expenditure : (*i*) the replacement of the British units kept in India for purposes of Indian defence by Indian troops, (2) the Indianization of the higher ranks of the Indian Army. In the matter of all the above reforms, the Simon Commission made very unsatisfactory and unprogressive recommendations; while in regard to the latter

set of reforms they are so reactionary as to suggest that they could not visualize a time even on the far distant future when the British army could be replaced by Indian troops officered and manned by Indians. Their recommendations in this connection have become the 'bete-noir' of every Indian critic who has bestowed any thought on the Commission's work in its relation to the one main point which has a bearing upon the all-important and fundamental consideration, *i.e.*, that it offers a very serious obstruction to the gradual evolution of a full-fledged Dominion army, which is a necessary accompaniment of Dominion Status.

The results that emanated from Sir Walter Layton's analysis of the Indian Defence problem is that it would be possible, provided the British Government takes over the capitation charges which amount to nearly Rs. 2 crores annually, and provided also that no extraordinary situation would develop necessitating any extraordinary expenditure on the army, to reduce military charges to Rs. 48 crores by 1940. This is, of course, on the basis that no political Reforms affecting the army problem would be introduced and the Indianization scheme does not proceed as rapidly as it is demanded by Indian Politicians ; but, if in these two matters there are advances, as it is very likely there would be, the burden may be still further reduced. The Simon Commission's recommendations cannot be considered sacrosanct from any point of view and least of all from the army point of view; and reforms in the direction of a progressive realization of a responsible army administration with possibilities of Indianization at an increasing pace, are not beyond the degree of probability.

Civil and Debt Services.

The expenditure of the Government of India on the civil and debt services has also considerably increased since the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, owing largely to

the Government's action on the recommendations of the Lee Commission, which proposed increase in the salaries of the All-India Services, but to a certain extent also on account of the necessity for incurring fresh expenditure on such items as civil and commercial aviation and other similar activities. Unless it be that expenditure on the civil services is considerably curtailed in the years to come, the expenditure of the Government of India is not calculated to be reduced ; nor does it seem possible to lessen the interest on our Public debt or the burden of debt itself, in view of the increased necessity there is for constructing irrigation and other public utility works of a productive character. But if economies are introduced into the Army Department on the basis of even Sir W. Layton's recommendations, and if, as anticipated, there is going to be a steady rise in the revenue from customs, there is no possibility or probability of any deficit being faced by the Central Government. Further, so large a proportion of our Public debt is of a productive character that it is not necessary to be alarmed about its figure ; and if a definite policy of debt redemption along the lines proposed by Sir Basil Blackett, former Finance Member in the Government of India in 1924, is followed, it will be possible to avoid a situation wherein the burden of our public debt might become insupportable.

Provincial Government's Sources of Revenue : Land Revenue.

Coming next to the resources in the hands of the Provincial Governments, we are faced with a situation which is not altogther encouraging. Land Revenue, which is by far the most important source of revenue to the Provinces, has already reached the utmost limit of its productivity and has reached a stage when it has come to be considered as pressing rather too heavily upon the agricultural classes and when no Finance Minister can expect to secure an increased income from it, without running

the serious risk of reducing the agriculturists to absolute poverty. This fact is more than borne out by the almost stationary state of the income from the source, and any increase that may have taken place was due more to the extension of the cultivated area rather than to any increased rates of land revenue. It is also borne out by the consideration that Governments have invariably found it inexpedient to press the theory of the state ownership of land and have been willing to limit land revenue assessment to a fixed maximum—as for example, in Madras, where 18¾% has been fixed as the maximum assessment that could be levied at any fresh settlement. Even after these changes that have gradually and slowly become established practices, land revenue taxation has been felt to be a terrible handicap to the improvement of the economic position of the agriculturists while the existing system of land tenure and land-revenue administration, especially in the temporarily settled areas, have been felt to be antiquated and out of date, leaving, as they do, the agriculturists at the mercy of settlement officers and the Executive Government. The Simon Commissioners have recognised these difficulties for they state in the first volume of their Report with reference to the system of land revenue assessment that " there are obvious objections to this form of taxation " and quoted with approval the opinion of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919 that " the imposition of new burdens should be brought gradually within the purview of the Legislature." That the system needs radical reform is more than proved by the awakening that has come about in the country in regard to this matter and by the interest which the Provincial and Central Governments have been evincing in it with a view to effect the necessary Reform, though, of course, the results attending these efforts have not been either remarkable or striking. The total income derived from Land Revenue is about Rs. 36 crores out of the total income of 97 crores of all the Provincial Governments put together from all sources, which means that it still forms a considerable proportion of Indian Revenues ; and, in view of

these facts, it is enough if it is stated here that it cannot be made a source of further revenue. All that is neccssary to do in regard to it is to devise measures for the alleviation of the hardships of the agriculturists who have to bear this burden of land Revenue by bringing it into accord with the well-known canon of taxation that a tax should not be beyond but approximate to, the ability of the tax-payer to pay.

Tax on Agricultural Incomes.

In this connection, it is necessary to consider the suggestion that land Revenue Taxation should be brought into line with taxation on other kinds of income and that the tax on income from land should follow along the same lines as income tax. This suggestion, which has been made before by many people, is endorsed by the Taxation Enquiry Committee and now by Sir Walter Layton himself in order firstly to remove the inequalities between industrial and agricultural occupations and make them both contribute equitably to the public revenues of the country, and secondly to remove the invidious system in vogue whereby a class of big landholders in the permanently settled areas of Bengal, United Provinces and certain portions of Madras and the Central Provinces are exempt from paying any tax on their income of land beyond a pittance fixed nearly a century and a half ago. The protagonists of this form of taxation propose a graduated tax to be levied on agricultural incomes on the same lines as on incomes from industrial, commercial and other occupations. The evil effects of the permanent settlement on the financial position of the Provinces where the system is in vogue and from the point of view of equitable adjustment of tax burdens, are now very generally recognized and very little opposition will be forthcoming against the proposal to impose some sort of compulsory contribution on the zamindars who now escape any such burden and thereby share their enormous profits from land with the State.

If a radical modification of Land Tenures prevalent in the permanently settled areas could be effected by the complete ablition of that system, nothing would be better or more welcome; but as the administrative and political difficulties in the way of such reform are so big that it does not come within the range of practical probability, the only method that remains to adopt is the one suggested by so many financiers and reformers, *i.e.*, the imposition of income tax on agricultural incomes. There are, of course, certain points which have to be cleared up before it can be suggested that the proposal will confer all the benefits and secure all these advantages which have been claimed for it. One such is the difficulty of assessing small incomes to the income tax, in the levy of which a particular exemption limit is invariably fixed. If this exemption limit is fixed at a particular point, say Rs. 1,000, the question arises as to what is to be done with agricultural profits below Rs. 1,000, which, considering the small and often uneconomic holdings of the agriculturists in India, will be very considerable and which therefore escape taxation altogether. Either these incomes are to be emancipated from all burden or they should be made to pay the ordinary land tax, while all the incomes above the exemption limit will be assessed to the income tax. The first proposition is wholly impracticable and unjustified, and the latter alone appears to be the most appropriate and equitable one.

A second point which also needs clearing up is the method to be pursued for the determination of agricultural profits in a vast country like India, where holdings are hopelessly subdivided, where absentee landlordism is very rampant and where the records of rights are imperfect. But this difficulty is not very formidable and the Revenue Departments in the Provinces can be relied upon to cope with the work entailing upon them by this change.

The advantages of imposing a graduated income tax on agricultural profits are very considerable as has already been pointed out; but its greatest recommendation is that it will

reduce the inequalities existing between the industrial and agricultural provinces, as both categories of administrative units will be in a position to share in the proceeds of income-tax.

The Future of the Land Tax.

Before leaving the topic of Land Revenue and the tax on profits from land, it will be permissible to refer succinctly to the changes in the Land Revenue administration that should be introduced to bring it into line with the criticisms of the system made above. The Agricultural Commission which made so many useful and beneficial recommendations for the improvement of Indian agriculture was unfortunately precluded from making any suggestions with regard to the highly important matters affecting the lives and prosperity of the agriculturists, *i.e.*, the systems of Land Tenure and Land Revenue administration, which, if it had been done, would have enabled that body to make authoritative recommendations in regard to them also. As it is, the justifiable and imperative thing for the State to do in connection is (1) to recognize the *de facto* state of affairs in regard to ownership of lands and definitely and finally abandon its claims to ultimate ownership of land, (2) to introduce a sort of semi-permanent settlement of land by fixing the currency of each settlement at 50 or 60 years, (3) to define clearly the basis and the pitch of each assessment that would be made at successive settlements, (4) to conduct a thorough economic enquiry into the condition of the ryots before fixing the rates of assessment, (5) to curtail the scope for the play of the whims and caprices of executive officials of the Settlement Department in the matter of land revenue assessment and collection, (6) to place Land Revenue administration on a statutory basis and bring it completely within the purview of the Legislature, (7) to assess agricultural profits to the Income Tax, and (8) lastly, to effect the necessary

modifications in the Permanent Revenue Settlement so as to bring the system into accord with modern ideas of distribution of tax burdens. These suggestions have been made time and often and have recommended themselves to even the Government.

Other Sources of Provincial Revenues.

Next to Land Revenue, the other important source of Provincial Revenue is Excise, which yields annually about Rs. 19½ crores. The Excise duties are levied mainly on the manufacture and sale of country liquor and, as the Simon Commissioners say in the first volume of their Report, "there is a complete separation of the privileges of sale and manufacture." The system of licenses for the sale of liquor is in vogue in many Provinces and the licensee is not permitted to sell the liquor off the premises of the licensed shop and even there liquor of a particular strength prescribed by the Excise Department alone can be sold. The Provincial Governments also derive a limited income from licenses granted for the sale of foreign liquor, the main burden on which is the customs duties collected by the Central Government. There is, however, a strong movement in the country in favour of Temperance and the demand had been made in more than one Provincial Council that Government should take up the initiative in the direction of Temperance reform. The most formidable objection against it has, however, been the loss of revenue which the step entails and this is the rock on which till now the efforts of Temperance and Prohibition reforms have broken. Excise is a transferred subject under the Reforms and Provincial Ministers have had to face the unenviable prospect of having to defend an unpopular policy because, otherwise, the Provincial budgets will have to experience a deficit. But Prohibition is bound to come in the years to come and the revenue from Excise is as surely bound to deteriorate,

while in the meanwhile there is no prospect of its increasing in any substantial degree. There is need, on this account, for concern in regard to Provincial Revenues; but the Provincial Fund which is now recommended for institution will have to be looked up to fill the gap.

The Revenue from Stamps is also considerable being Rs. 14·35 crores according to the Budget estimates of last year, while Forest dues, Registration fees and Irrigation dues and other minor heads bring between themselves about another Rs. 28 crores into the Provincial Exchequer. There is no necessity to refer in detail to any of these sources of revenue, all of which are more or less stationary ; but in regard to stamps, it is necessary to point out that whereas hitherto the whole revenue from stamps had been going into the Provincial coffers, a separation between general and commercial stamps will have to be effected hereafter (as suggested in a previous section above) and the revenue from the latter will have to be transferred to the Central Government.

Items of Provincial Expenditure.

On the expenditure side of the Provinces, the most striking feature, as has already been remarked above, is the comparatively low proportion of revenues spent upon Education, Sanitation, Agriculture and other " nation-building " departments, though the fact has also got to be admitted that since the introduction of the Reforms, there had been a steady growth of expenditure on these services. In spite of the steady improvement there is still much to be accomplished considering the extensive ground that has got to be covered for, as the Simon Commissioners say, the facilities for medical relief, to take only one instance, are "deplorably inadequate, the total number of Hospitals and Dispensaries, public and private, in 1926-27 for the whole of

India was only 4,205 for 247 millions of inhabitants, while as regards educational facilities, they are not as widespread as they should have been. The expenditure on Education is only Rs. 12·95 crores according to the figures of 1929-30 out of a total Provincial income of Rs. 98 crores and the expenditure on Public Health is only Rs. 6·38 crores, which considered, side by side with the expenditure on the army and the civil services, doubtless gives the impression that these departments are being starved. Indiscriminate spending on these departments with no eye to practical results is not what is required: it is on the other hand needful to devise a systematic, well-planned art and well-directed policy of educational expansion and rural sanitary development, with the simultaneous evolution of an effective and efficient supervising agency, so as to obviate wastage and stagnation in the first-mentioned of these departments and mere outward show and apology for progaganda in the second. Caution, systematization and supervision are especially required in regard to primary education, which is the most urgent need of the hour and the spread of which amongst the people is calculated to secure improvement in every and all directions, and in regard to which the Auxiliary Committee under Sir Philip Hartog's presidentship had recommended the co-ordination of Provincial efforts and the intervention of the Central Government to secure uniformity of control and regulation.

Next to Education and Public Health, the Industrial and Agricultural departments ought to have a claim upon the Provincial revenue to the exclusion of everything else. The Agricultural departments in the Provinces have taken very few steps to acquaint the people with the latest improvements in scientific agriculture or to make agriculture a paying proposition to the vast majority of people engaged in it and earn their livelihood thereby. The Agricultural Commission as well as the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee have made very beneficial and far-reaching recommendations as to the best methods of assisting the agricultural industry; but the method which is stressed by

one and all is the method of creating a spirit of hopefulness in the people engaged in the industry, which can be done only by the spread of education and a knowledge of things which will be conducive to their own interests. The Banking Committee has also suggested the organization of Provincial Boards of Economic enquiry to aid the Agricultural and other allied Government Departments to study from a scientific standpoint the requirements of the Agriculturists with a view to promoting their welfare and prosperity. The Government of India has, it is true, organized in pursuance of the recommendation of the Agricultural Commission and appointed an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, but the popularising of the work carried on by that body has not been as widespread as it ought to be ; and the Agricultural Departments have to incur additional monies for this purpose with the sure conviction that they will reap ample compensation for the money spent.

With regard to the Industries Departments, very little, if at all has been done by these departments either developing Industries or in promoting Industrial Research, and they have been treated up till now more or less with step-motherly affection. In the Madras Presidency, the Report of the working of the Industries Departments contains a statement of a number of improvements effected by it in the way of giving aid to indigenous industries : of disseminating information regarding industrial and commercial questions, of carrying experiments in new methods of industrial expansion and in industrial engineering ; but though the list of achievements is imposing enough the net result of it all is disproportionately insignificant. But the State Aid to Industries Act passed by the Madras Legislature is a useful piece of legislature with many potentialities for good if properly administered and similar legislation can be adopted in other provinces too and through it facilities may be provided for giving direct aid to industrial undertakings satisfying certain requirements. The need for a technical expert instead of a layman being appointed as Director of Industries in the various

Provinces, one who will have a firm grasp of the necessities of the situation and with the technical knowledge necessary to meet those requirements, requires to be stressed.

Next to those departments discussed above, the outstanding items of expenditure on the Provincial List are general administration, Police and Justice. The remarks made in connection with the discussion on the Civil Expenditure of the Government of India apply with equal force to the expenditure of the Provincial Governments on general administration, the most outstanding reform needed being a general cutting down of expenditure by the application of the principle of retrenchment, wherever found desirable, and by the general lowering of salaries in the higher grades of the Provincial services. A suggestion has been made that Police should be made a central subject, but as there are no strong grounds, either administrative or otherwise, to show that the change would be of greater advantage than the arrangement at present in existence, it must be considered a needless and unnecessary one.

Constitutional Implications.

Arising from the scheme of Federation and its necessary concomitant of Provincial Autonomy and from the necessity there is now a due co-ordination of Provincial financial activities by the action of the Central Government, it necessarily follows that so far as the question of Provincial Revenues and Expenditure is concerned, they should be entirely within the purview and control of the Provincial Cabinets responsible to the Legislatures. The powers of reservation and safeguards recommended to be entrusted to the Provincial Governors by the Round Table Conference Scheme enable the latter to continue to remain the financial overlords in the Provinces, which they have been all these years; and these powers will have all to be taken away and the Governors reduced to the position of constitutional

heads of the Government acting on the advice of the Cabinet. As a necessary corrollary to this position, the Governor-General's and the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence and general control over Provincial Finances will be reduced to the barest minimum, while the Government of India's powers of influencing Provincial financial policy will be limited to the part it plays in the matter of collecting and distributing the Provincial Fund.

Consistent with their control over the Provincial Finances, the Provincial Legislatures should possess also the power of scrutinizing expenditure and the Provincial Audit Reports should be submitted to the Public Accounts Committee, which should report upon them to the Provincial Councils. The function of Audit is a very important function and the Auditor-General is in a way the watchdog of the public revenues and should be assigned a position of independence by statute, if he is to discharge his duties free from all political influences.

Some General Principles.

Before concluding this survey of the financial system of British India, it is necessary to point out that the Indian taxation system has not been based on any definite and fixed principles evolved after a scientific examination of the taxable capacity of the people. There has not been any systematic enquiry into the economic position of the different classes of the population nor any systematic endeavour at graduating taxation to suit the capacity or the ability of the tax-payers to pay. The result has been that on one side there has been increase in tax-burdens out of all proportion to the economic position of the people of India as a whole, and on the other, while certain sections of the population have been taxed heavily, other sections have been enabled to escape comparatively lightly. A detailed enquiry into the economic conditions prevailing in different regions and into the

economic position of different classes of the population is, therefore essentially called for and will have to be undertaken at least immediately after the new Reforms are inaugurated.

It is in this connection necessary to point out that in addition to such an enquiry as that recommended above, it is also desirable in view of the abnormal complexity of the political problems which will confront the country that its resources in government and administration should be supplemented for economic problems by the association of those, who through collective institutions, like Chambers of Commerce, Institutes of Bankers, etc., represent its organized economic life. The views of Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic Section of the the League of Nations Secretariat, who has lately come out to India to advise the Government of India in financial matters, is very valuable with regard to this question. Sir A. Salter wrote: "The special conditions of India suggest strongly that what is required is the association not only of expert opinion but of representative opinion—opinion which is representative of every main sphere of the organised economic life of the people." He suggests for this purpose the constitution of (*a*) a Central Economic Advisory Council and (*b*) an Economic Advisory Council in each province. The members should consist of persons respecting the various types of economic experience, interest, etc., like Agricultural Banking and Finance, Commerce, Co-operative Organizations, Economists, Industrialists, Labour Organization, Members of Legislatures and officials and while the predominant mode of selection is by election, nomination also might be resorted to by Government to equalise inequalities of representation. As Agriculture is the most important industry in the country, it is obviously essential, says Sir Arthur Salter, that the members and quality of those who represent Agriculture on the Council should be such as to secure an expression of its point of view and interests which is adequate and bears a due relation to the position of Agriculture in the general life of the country. A permanent secretariat will have to be established to

carry on the work of the Council and it might be found convenient to associate the Central Statistical Organization of the country very closely with the secretariat of the Council. The object of the scheme is to make it play a useful part in India's economic development by "encouraging scientific investigation and objective discussion of economic problems" ; and since the whole of the organization is to be, according to Sir Arthur, predominantly non-official in character, since its members draw their authority from a different source than that of the general electorate and since the Government will have to consult it on all important economic and financial questions demanding their decision, the Councils here proposed will be very effective instruments for achieving the abovemontioned aims besides being favourable to securing a greater continuity of policy throughout the successive changes of parties and ministers.

Note.

Since the above was written two important developments have taken place, the first being that the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference has appointed a committee under Lord Peel's Chairmanship to suggest methods of distributing the financial resources between the Central and Provincial or State Governments and the second being that the financial position of the Government of India and in fact of almost every Government in the world has been overtaken by a significant change for the worse owing to the trade depression that has been prevalent for the last two years or more, resulting in a violent dislocation of their financial machineries and in the resort to emergency measures of the nature of extra taxation, drastic cutting down of expenditure and so on. It is not to be thought that these extraordinary conditions that have supervened will continue for any considerable length of time and it may be anticipated that what with the heroic endeavours made by the various Governments and in particular by the Government of India, with which we are primarily concerned, to balance their finances and weather the financial storm, the financial equilibrium will be restored in a short time

and a return to normal conditions will result. But for the present, the most outstanding fact that invites notice is the all-round increase in taxation, especially in the customs duties and Income Tax, some of them imposed without any concern for and even in direct contravention in some cases of the recognised principles of taxation, and which did not take into consideration the well-known canon of modern financial systems that taxation should be based on the ideal of "equal sacrifices from all in proportion to their ability."

To meet what is admittedly an emergency situation, Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member to the Government of India has plumped in for an extra taxation to the tune of Rs. 16 crores to cover an anticipated deficit of Rs. 19 crores, but he has not stopped to look at the other side of the picture which clearly and unmistakably indicates that the limit of productivity of almost every tax proposed to be tried by him has been reached in India and that augmentation of taxation will only lead to augmentation of the economic distress of the people and decrease in income. He should have noted that in two of what may be regarded as the most productive sources of revenue, Income Tax and the Railways, there has been a steady and continuous deterioration of their capacity to yield increased income since the beginning of the Reform Era (in Income Tax the fall has been from Rs. 19 crores in 1921-22 to 18 crores in 1931-32 and income from Railways has decreased from Rs. 6·44 crores in 1923-24 to Rs. 5·74 crores in the last year's budget), and he should have drawn from it the only possible conclusion that could be drawn from that phenomenon, the lesson namely that these two sources of revenue have attained the utmost limit of their productivity and cannot be made to yield more unless there is an appreciable advancement in the country's economic prosperity, by methods calculated to secure that prosperity ; even the revenue from Customs Duties, though these have proved so far the milch cow of the Indian Finances, cannot be expected to retain the same measure of productivity when, as at present arranged, they are raised from 15 per cent. to 25 per cent. ; for even the lower rate has been held to be too heavy and had been criticized in the most unsparing manner from that point of view by Sir Walter Layton. Said Sir Walter: "The present standard rate of 15 per cent. with 30 per cent. on luxury goods is already high for a purely agricultural country and in some cases rates have been put so high as to be prohibitive" ; and he added that it is possible that in a number of cases duties are already beyond the point of maximum yield and that more revenue may be obtained from a general lowering of duties. Moreover it would be worth while even from a purely revenue

point of view to lower duties even at the risk of losing revenue at the moment for the sake of encouraging the general economic development of the country." This statement from an unimpeachable financial authority who had studied the Indian Financial question from a detatched standpoint, should be taken to heart by Sir George Schuster. The only remedy in the circumstances, a remedy which however has only been very tardily accepted and acted upon by the Finance Members, is to lower expenditure on the government developments, both Civil and Military, by the drastic and merciless application of the pruning knife of retrenchment ; and then when it is found that the revenue from the tax resources mentioned above is in excess of the expenditure, to apply it to the development of the nation-building services.

Finally with regard to the first of the developments referred to at the begining of this rate, the committee appointed by a Financial Structure Committee is still in session ; but one of the questions that it will have prominently brought up before it and which it will have to tackle, is the exploration and discovery of methods whereby the distribution of the financial resources and of the revenue from those resources between the authorities of the All-India Federation on the one hand and the Native States on the other. The latter have been complaining that they are labouring under the disadvantage of being deprived of their legitimate share of the Indian customs Revenue and the Indian Postal and Railway earnings at the same time as they are forced to pay tributes to the Central Government. They demand that a scheme of financial readjustment will have to be formulated side by side with the abolition of the system of payment of tributes, which will serve, if continued, to be humiliating reminders of their position of subordination even after they enter the Indian Federation, which they will do, if at all, on an equal footing ; and this they do in order that they may secure for themselves a proper and fair apportionment of the income from customs and railway. The whole question assumes however a new orientation by the decision of the states to enter the Federation on a footing, it may be presumed, of equality with the British Indian Provinces ; and in the altered circumstances, it will have to be decided whether, in addition to the revenue resources that will be assigned to them along with the British Indian Provinces, they (the Native States) have still to be given a share of the proceeds of customs and other revenue receipts, which will hereafter be spent by the future Federal Government for purposes which are common and equal to all the units of the Federation, both States and Provinces. When the former become the constituent parts of the Federation on a co-equal footing with the

latter, the question will naturally arise, "Are they accorded special treatment by being allowed to be participants in the Federal Revenues from Customs and Railways along with the Federal Government when the Provinces are not to be so allowed ?" But if the scheme of a Provincial Fund materializes, they will be certainly entitled to have a share thereof in accordance with any principles that may be accepted hereafter for the distribution of the proceeds of the same.

A second question in this connection that will have to be decided is that relating to the control exertionable by the Secretary of the State for India over the Indian Finance. On this question, the opinion is unanimous that the development of Responsible Self-Government cannot by any stretch of imagination be reconciled with the control of the Secretary of State and that the removal of that control will have to be the necessary and inevitable accompaniment of that development. The control will therefore have to be taken away and full financial authority should be vested in the Governor-General and the Cabinet in the Indian Federation. The "safeguards" proposed in this connection insist upon so much by die-hard British opinion, are all calculated to militate against the principle of Dominion Responsible Self-government, to stultify it to the utmost possible extent, and to tighten still more than at present the control of an extraneous authority, although it may be the Governor-general and not the Secretary of State, over the Indian Finances ; and as obviously there is and can be no necessity for such safeguards except and beyond those provided by the capacity of Indian public opinion to see to it that Indian Finances are managed well and managed in India's interests, they will have to be removed wholly and completely.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

ALL THAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

All that you have learned
Then all that must you know now,
It may lie partially out of the call of memory
But there is no real forgetting.
That which has been built into the structure
Must remain for ever.
Therefore, one cannot be less in knowledge,
O rless in capacity for knowledge
In this incarnation...in this minute...
Than in the last.
It is man's duty not only to learn,
But to become aware
Of all that he knew in the past.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

ADVICE TO INDIAN STUDENTS WHO WISH TO CARRY ON HIGHER STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

It is most gratifying to us to see that many Indian students are anxious to carry on their higher education in German universities. During the last three years we have received some two thousand letters from India, asking for information about educational facilities in Germany. We have answered these letters individually and we shall always be glad to supply information asked by *serious students*. However we wish to make the following points clear which should be kept on mind by all Indians who wish to come to Germany as a student or seeker after knowledge.

1. No Indian should come to Germany without sufficient funds for his maintenance. This is self-understood. However during the last few months we have received applications from various Indians, who are already in Germany, seeking pecuniary aid and some seeking employment. We wish to make it absolutely clear that there is no opportunity for any foreigner to earn a living in Germany. No foreign student can secure any opportunity for employment. German people are now out of employment and during the coming winter the number may rise upto 8,000,000 or more. According to the laws of the land no foreigner can be given an opportunity to get into any gainful occupation which may displace a German worker from his position.

2. Although German factories, in the past, have extended opportunities for practical training to many Indian students and they are willing to extend the privilege whenever it is possible, yet it is practically impossible for German factories to make any special arrangements for foreign students for practical training which may displace a German worker. In some cases foreign

students who pay their own expenses may get the opportunities for practical training. *But no Indian student should take it for granted that he will get the opportunity. He must make sure of the possibility of securing the opportunity before leaving India.* No Indian student can be given any opportunity, unless he knows German well enough to carry on conversation in German and has good theoretical knowledge on the subject he wishes to master.

3. We have received several applications for help from Indian students. We wish to make it clear that Die Deutsche Akademie is not a charitable organisation. It has secured several stipends for Indian scholars and has arranged for practical training for others. It hopes to facilitate exchange of Professors and students between Germany and India. It has no special fund for aiding Indian students other than those who receive stipends.

4. We often receive many letters from Indian students who are undergraduates and wish to secure a degree from a German University within a short time. There is no short cut for securing a degree in any German University. For a German graduate of High School (Gymnasium) it takes *at least* eight semesters or four years' study to get a University degree. Let this be fully understood that every German student who devotes, not four years' study in a university is not eligible for a degree. He must not only finish his studies satisfactorily, but will have to write a thesis in German and pass a difficult oral examination given by Professors. These examinations are to test the knowledge of the candidate for a degree.

An Indian student who has passed his Intermediate Science Examinations may get along as a regular student in a German University, provided he is very diligent. Such a student will require more than four years, sometimes six years, to finish a regular University course. We therefore advise that Indian students wishing to study in German Universities should have their B.Sc degree from an Indian University before they take

admission into a German University. In fact we think it to be economical and more practical if Indian students finish their Engineering education or take their M.Sc. degree in Physics and Chemistry, before they come to Germany for higher studies in these branches. Indian Medical students should finish their regular studies in Indian Universities and take the M.B. degree before they come to Germany for higher medical training. For beginners in Medical studies in German Universities it takes at least six years to complete the course. A medical graduate from Indian universities can secure M.D. after 4 semesters' study and passing the required examination.

5. In every case, it must be remembered that it is absolutely necessary *for a prospective student to have adequate knowledge of German, so that he will be able to follow lectures in classes which are delivered only in German. Even those who have working knowledge of German, should come at least two months before the beginning of semesters (Winter Semester begins in early November and the Summer Semester begins in early May), so that they will be able to carry on intensive study of German language from competent German teachers before taking admission into Universities.*

6. For a foreign student it is essential that he should be well provided with funds to meet his expenses. *One wishing to live modestly in Germany requires Two Hundred to Two Hundred and Fifty Marks per month, i.e., Rs. 150 to Rs. 175. One must also be prepared for extra expenses for clothing, etc.*

Lest there be any misunderstanding we wish to say that German universities welcome Indian students, whether they be beginners or research scholars. We at the same time think that it is better for India's and Germany's cultural relations, if India sends her most worthy scholars to German universities. German education stands for efficiency and Indian national efficiency can be raised quickly through the efforts of the highest type of Indian scholars willing to acquire all that is best in Western civilization and its assimilation. We are anxious to

Reviews

The Scientific Basis of Woman's Education.—By the late Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar. D. B. Taraporexala Sons & Co. 1930. Rs. 3.

This is, it is sad to observe, a posthumous publication. Prof. Chiplunkar had been associated with the cause of woman's education in Western India for long and had put down the results of his experience and deep thought, but he died a little more than two years ago, on the 20th December, 1929, rather suddenly, before he could see his book published. The earlier pages are more or less records of the opinions of foreigners, thinkers on this most important subject, but we feel constrained to note that such a collection by itself is not calculated to attract a high class of readers. In the second part, however, the learned professor comes forward to discuss some fundamental issues, giving a constructive scheme of woman's education adapted to local (Indian) conditions, and suggesting courses in home economics in great detail as well as appending a general outline of woman's education. The facts, figures and documents attached are bound to prove of great interest and the select bibliography, carefully prepared index and the chart of the method recommended, further enhance the value of the book. There is something to be said on each detailed suggestion, *e.g.*, the school-time. The professor suggested "8 A.M. to 4-30 P.M., with an hour's recess in the noon." This is hardly to be justified even on his own showing; the morning is the best time for work and the noon the worst, and if girls and women are forced to slave then, it is nothing but a foolish repression on the part of the authorities concerned. Regarding compulsory cheap tiffin, the idea is good no doubt, due regard being paid to the nature of the food supplied, but compulsory long rest is more desirable and effective in toning up the system. Again, whatever arguments may be adduced against the present method of examinations, when education has to be imparted on a large scale, no better method of testing the knowledge of the students has yet been found. Another point should be emphasised in this connection: though memory alone should not be at a premium, it should be properly cultivated, for it is "not a negligible commodity in life's vocations." As against the charge that very few electives are offered in India, the situation is rapidly improving. But such objections should not be stressed too much in estimating the value of the book.

The woman's question is coming more and more to the forefront even in our country; the work under review supplies a great need in that respect.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth.—By P. N. Roy. 275 pages. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

The book contains an exposition of Fascism mainly based on the speeches of Benito Mussolini. It is divided into nine chapters in which the author has traced the origin of Fascism, compared the Fascist administration with the old and given a good exposition of the progress brought about by the Fascist Government in the economic, agricultural and other domains of national life.

We generally sneer at Fascism without knowing much about this powerful political movement which has brought about a great change in the political outlook of Italy during the last decade. The author who is well-versed in Italian has translated a number of documents from the original which are meant as the *pièces justificatives* of his exposition, to enable the reader to form an honest opinion about the work done by the Government of Mussolini.

Mussolini started his political career as a socialist, changed his creed in 1914 and founded the new party of which the motto was " chi ha ferro, ha pane "—he who has steel has bread. According to it " democracy does not signify descent to low standards, it means to ascend. It means the elevation of the lowest classes to the highest standards."

This party gradually rose into prominence under the leadership of Mussolini and took possession of the Government in 1922, not by constitutional means but by *coup d'état*. Since then Mussolini has, as the leader of the Fascist party, remained at the head of the Italian Government, and has been trying to realise the ideals for which he had been working.

His doctrine of the state is not a liberal one. The state, according to him, is " the highest manifestation of men as social animals and has an existence of its own, different from and superior to that of the individuals." He thus believes in hierarchy and subordination of individual interests to the higher interests of the nation. He therefore does not believe in universal suffrage which is " purely a conventional fiction " according to him but in governing through syndicates, legally recognised and supervised by the state. To these syndicates are entrusted the responsibility

of protecting the interests of different classes. Mussolini believes in war, armament and militarism and dreams that by 1950 " Europe will be wrinkled and decrepit. The only country which will remain young is Italy, and people will come from beyond the frontier to see the phenomenon of this renewed spring of the nation! "

The author amongst other things has explained the causes of the failure of socialism in Italy. The causes were: (*i*) The Italian socialists were disappointed with the socialist parties of other countries—particularly after their failure to bring about proper adjustments since 1918. (*ii*) They preached class-hatred and pushed the masses to an extreme class-war. (*iii*) They insisted on a better distribution of wealth and reduced the whole problem to a class-problem which was entirely wrong in the case of Italy which was not an advanced industrial country and had not the maximum capitalistic development. (*iv*) Socialism was also weakened by the conditions of Italy which was a proletarian country. Ten millions out of fifty millions live abroad mostly on manual labour. These immigrants require the backing of a strong Italian Government. Besides these there is another and that the most important failure of socialism in Italy was that it did not succeed in organising itself timely and capturing the Government as the Fascists did.

On the whole the book is well written and is meant not so much to placate the Fascist administration as to present facts about it before the Indian reading public so that they may form a just opinion about it. In the words of the author himself, " In Italy a new flame of spirit has been kindled by a race of young men, in defiance of all claptrap and catchwords. It is for young men and women of India to judge if this light can be of any use to them. The aim of the present book is to help them a little in understanding the new phenomenon."

PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI

"**Kavye Rabindranath**" (Rabindranath as He is revealed in His Poetry) by Sj. Bishwapati Choudhury. M.A. (published by Saratchandra Chakrabarty & Sons, Calcutta) is a valuable contribution to literary criticism in Bengali literature made by a young writer possessing powers of literary appreciation of a high order. Within the narrow compass of 218 pages, divided into four chapters, the writer has brilliantly succeeded in putting convincingly all that is really necessary to say in order to show the gradual development of the great Indian poet's mind and art, and the quotations from Rabindranath's extensive poetical works have been made with rare

skill and accurate judgment. The writer's power of expressing himself clearly, lucidly and with impressiveness is simply wonderful, and his style is marked by spontaneous ease and elegance. Judicious application of critical canons is a remarkable feature of the writer's method of study, and he seldom fails in aptly bringing out the deeper significance of the numerous poems which are here subjected to a critical analysis. The parallel movement of deep thought and artistic creation in the genius of a world-poet has always been carefully kept in view, and stress is always rightly laid upon the aesthetic side of that great genius without losing sight of his progressive spiritual growth and the main current of his profound philosophy of life. Each important stage of this comprehensive growth is here carefully defined, and in the case of almost all important poems great care has been taken by this critic to show how an appropriate poetical form is given by our poet to every one of the valuable truths realised by him in and through his personal experience.

We have read this critical estimate of Rabindranath with real pleasure and profit, and hope that it will be received by all true lovers of poetry in the way it so richly deserves.

J. G. B.

Ourselves

The Late Dr. P. K. Ray

It is with deep and sincere grief that we have to record the death, at the ripe age of eighty-two, of one of the most distinguished sons of Bengal, Dr. P. K. Ray, D.Sc., at his Hazaribagh residence on the 22nd of January, 1931. The late Dr. Ray was a brilliant scholar, a renowned educationist, a man of sterling character and an ardent reformer whose memory will be held in loving esteem by more than two generations of educated Bengalis who enjoyed the privilege of having been his students at Dacca and Calcutta. Though he has passed away full of years and honours, his loss will be deeply felt by all who had the pleasure of coming into close contact with his ennobling personality. He consecrated a long life of strenuous activities to the intellectual, social and spiritual advancement of his countrymen and won love and respect from all classes alike. He passed from Dacca to the University of London whence he proceeded next to the University of Edinburgh where no less a person than the late Lord Haldane happened to be his fellow student with whom his intimacy continued up to the end of the latter's life. He held the responsible post of Principal both at Dacca and the Presidency College of Calcutta at a time when promotion to such honour of Indians was rather difficult, and served with great success also as the Registrar and later on first Inspector of Colleges of the Calcutta University.

We offer to his bereaved family our most sincere condolence.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN LITERARY SUBJECTS FOR 1930

The Premchand Roychand studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1930, has been divided equally amongst the following scholars on the usual conditions :—

Mr. Haricharan Ghosh, M.A.
,, Narendrakrishna Sinha, M.A.
,, Prabhaschandra Basu, M.Sc.
,, Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, M.A.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS FOR 1931

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for the year 1931, has been divided equally amongst the following scholars on the usual conditions :—

Dr. Md. Qudrat-i-Khuda, M.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.), D.I.C.

Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1932

ANNUAL CONVOCATION

CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS [1]

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLMEN,

A month ago in this place, in the presence of many who are here with us to-day, an honour was conferred upon me, by direction of the Governing Body of this University, which the practice and custom of this and other Universities denied me the privilege of acknowledging at the time. I wish, therefore, to take the first opportunity which has presented itself to me to express in some measure the feelings which I experienced on receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law of the University of Calcutta. Though I took a degree in Law at Cambridge I cannot claim to have advanced the theory or the practice of law or jurisprudence. For the reason of the honour I prefer to depend upon what you, Sir, set forth in your very generous and, I fear, too complimentary address on that occasion. Four years ago when first I stood before this Convocation as Governor and Chancellor I said it would be my duty and my desire to use my best endeavours as Chancellor to assure the efficiency and progress of the University: in the address to which I have referred, you, Sir, were good enough to say that positive advantages had accrued from the manner in which in time of difficulty and some difference of opinion I had been able to discharge the dual functions of my position bringing to bear upon the responsibilities of each office the knowledge and experience gained in the other. I should be happy to think that in the verdict which I have just

[1] Delivered at the Senate Hall, on February 6, 1932.

quoted you have seen the fulfilment,—in part at least,—of the undertaking I gave. I shall always be doubly proud of my Calcutta Degree if I can think that its bestowal had been intended as a mark of the University's belief that I had done my best to serve her, for that has been my aim throughout the period of my term as Chancellor. I am indeed proud and greatly touched to have received this honour: I am very grateful to all those who gave expression to their good wishes by attending the Special Convocation at which it was conferred, and I thank you, Sir, for the very generous references to me and to Lady Jackson which you made on that occasion and which you have again repeated to-day.

We have all listened with attention and great interest to the Vice-Chancellor's thoughtful address. From what he has said it is, I think, clear that the record of the year shows solid work and substantial achievement in most spheres of the University's activities.

The hand of death has fallen unusually heavily upon those in whose care the teaching and administration of the University have rested in the immediate or more remote past. I desire fully to associate myself with the eloquent tributes which the Vice-Chancellor has paid to the memory of General Harris, Mr. James, Mr. Lalmohan Das, Mr. Percival, Principal Raye, Maulvi Muhammad Irfan and Dr. P. K. Roy. In Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri Bengal has lost a distinguished Sanskritist who for nearly half a century has been an international name. We shall miss also the keen intellect and the trenchant wit of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh whose death last August, after a comparatively brief illness, came as a great shock to his many friends. And lastly the University shares, if indirectly, in the heavy loss which India as a whole has suffered in the death of that great statesman and educationalist, Sir Muhammad Shafi, whose services to the country, educational and political, and whose sympathetic outlook had won him the friendship of every community in India.

The University has also suffered a loss in its personnel in the retirement of the Registrar, Rai Bahadur Jnan Chandra Ghosh. The office of Registrar is very much what its holder makes it,—some men make themselves seemingly indispensable, and the Rai Bahadur was one of these. I welcome the new incumbent of this important post,—Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherjee,—who had already made his mark in Government service and in the work of this University.

You have, Sir, in your speech referred to the joint labours of the University and Government to bring into effect the recommendations of the Reorganisation Committee and to the state of uncertainty in which the University staff must remain until you receive from Government an official statement about the amount of financial assistance which will be given by Government in this and succeeding years. This question of the financial assistance required to enable the University to carry out the most important features of the reorganisation scheme, has been very thoroughly thrashed out, largely as a result of the conferences to which you have referred, and I think we may congratulate ourselves on the atmosphere of mutual co-operation which has been created and in which this difficult problem has been solved.

I fully share the very natural anxiety of the University and its staff on this question of finance and I realise that insecurity of tenure does not make for good work. I am happy, therefore, to be able to inform you that a letter has been sent by Government this day to the University which should set your fears at rest. Government's grant to the University this year will be four lakhs and next year and in succeeding years (subject to certain conditions) the figure will be 3·6 lakhs of rupees.

I shall not take up the time of this Convocation by detailed reference to the excellent work which has been done or to the various distinctions which have been earned during the University year just ended. I should like to take this opportunity of offering my congratulations to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan

upon the honour which has been conferred upon him by the King-Emperor. Except to those fortunate persons who have earned distinction there is a sameness which it is impossible altogether to avoid in comments on the academic work of a body like the University. Outside the purely academic sphere, however, the past year has been marked by one welcome innovation to which the Vice-Chancellor's modesty has prevented him giving the publicity which, from a University point of view, it undoubtedly deserves. Last year, for the first time in the history of the University, the Vice-Chancellor attended a session of the Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire. It is a matter for gratification that in all gatherings whether official or social he was accorded the position of leader of the delegates from Indian Universities and that when, for the first time, a delegate from India was invited to preside over one of the sections of the Conference, this honour also fell to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

Another feature in the University's extra-academic life which I most heartily welcome is the setting up of a Club for the better organization of the University's sports and for the awarding of "Blues." Let me say at once that in my opinion the formation of a central body to regulate these matters for the University as a whole was a reform long overdue, and I very much welcomed the privilege of being the Club's first President. It has always been a matter of the keenest regret to me that the exacting conditions of my office preclude me from coming into more constant and intimate contact with the students of the University, and it was, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I welcomed the first recipients of the coveted "Blue" and presented them with their badges.

I was much struck by the Vice-Chancellor's remarks upon one of the most serious educational problems before us in India, namely, the menace to the educational system of the country, and to the young lives which are entrusted to it, which the present wave of indiscipline and intolerance of control present.

I heartily welcome the resolution on the subject which the Syndicate passed last November and the action which the Vice-Chancellor has taken to secure for that resolution due publicity. It is unfortunately true that teachers and parents alike appear of late to have lost that influence which they could and should wield over the rising generation. This process, unless it is arrested, is fraught with disaster to the country and its students alike. The active participation in the political arena of young boys in their teens has not, I think, proved beneficial either to themselves or to the body politic. Teachers and guardians can do much to counter this tendency. I think it was last year that you, Sir, quoted some pungent remarks of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on this point. A better and more attractive method of occupying the spare time of our young men must be provided. Boys and girls must have interests outside the class-room. We have a saying " All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy " and I believe that the saying applies not only to Jack but to Jill no less. Youth will have its amusements and its excitements. For the favoured few the things of the intellect may suffice,—and these are the stuff of which great scholars are made. But the ordinary boy demands something more and it is hard to say that he is wrong. At present he is getting this excitement from politics and picture houses: that is bad for him: a very little of the one at his age is indigestible and too much of the other is enervating. It is here that the guardian and still more the young school-master or active Professor has his chance. Without denying for one moment that the advancement of learning is the chief object of our educational institutions, it is certain that athletics, sports, well-run common-rooms and a healthy interest in healthy activities taken by Professors and students alike,—all are necessary to the proper development of a University and, I may add, to the making of the complete man. It is in this way, it seems to me, that the touch which has been lost can be regained. It is in this way that the awful tale of ill-health which is such a handicap

to our student community here in Bengal can be lessened. It is in this way that we can make of the bulk of our students fine, upstanding, clean-living men like those to whom I had the privilege of presenting their Blues at Government House some months ago.

I offer my congratulations and good wishes to those who to-day have been admitted to their degrees,—many of whom will now be embarking for the first time on the sea of life. The problem of what to do with our graduates is one that does not grow less serious as years go by. In the days when this University was established, nearly three quarters of a century ago, the theory known as the "filtration" theory was a favourite one with educationalists. The essence of this theory as I understand it was the introduction of secondary and higher education for the benefit of the higher classes in the hope that education would then "filter" down to the lower and poorer classes. It was, I am afraid, a pleasing theory which did not work out in practice, yet it contains perhaps the germ of a useful idea.

The University of Calcutta is turning out year by year a very large number of graduates, many of whom will find it impossible to go further in their studies. Some will turn to teaching in secondary schools, and to these is due every encouragement. But what of the others? At present too many of them go to swell the ranks of the unemployed and it is not altogether surprising if some of them become disaffected. And yet Bengal is full of illiterates who ordinarily will have no chance of gaining even the elements of education. Surely here is the field where the "filtration" theory can work. Bengal now has a Primary Education Act. When it comes into full operation the task of the village school-master, if humble, will be one of responsibility and honour. An opportunity for much good work awaits our graduates who would turn their faces to the villages and realise that the task of regeneration there awaiting them is one of the most vital which confront the people

of Bengal. A great deal of useful work has been done in this way by young Bengalis, but the field is almost unlimited and I would suggest to young graduates that they should look to village work as a proper and patriotic outlet for their energies.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the fifth time that I have addressed Convocation as Chancellor and it must in the due order of things be the last. At such a time it is natural that one should look back and "take stock," as it were, before making over charge and severing one's active connection with the concern. The process of stock-taking is rarely one of undiluted pleasure: there is much that must of necessity be "written down" and there may be losses which have to be written off altogether. My term has seen its share of problems and anxieties: I cannot hope that it has been altogether free from mistake. I hope, however, that you will not think me complacent if I say that, looking back, I do find cause for gratification. When I first addressed you four years ago I said "that I was informed that there was need for change and reform" in the working and organization of this University. Perhaps, as the Vice-Chancellor seems to think, in matters of this kind we move slowly: but the point is that we are moving. In various ways the process of reorganization and reform has made considerable strides during the past five years,—and if we have not got as far as many of us would have wished, we may, I think, claim to have made very definite progress and to have laid the foundation well and truly upon which further reform may be built and established. For this, of course, I claim no personal credit: for the work has prospered through the labours of the University itself on the one side and the Ministry of Education on the other,—my contribution being chiefly that of the humble man with the oil-can whose task it is to keep the working surfaces well lubricated and to reduce friction to a minimum. In the same way, I think, I may claim that during the past five years the old misunderstand ing between the University and the Government,—

misunderstanding based, I fear, on mutual suspicion,—has proved amenable to treatment and has been largely reduced by the process of getting together and discussing things frankly.

I believe,—and I am glad to think,—that both in its contact with the Ministry of Education and in its general relations with Government authorities the University is now in a happier position than it was five years ago. For this result we have many people to thank,—members of the Senate and Syndicate: members of the Government and of the services under it. But most of all I wish to attribute the responsibility for this improved state of affairs to three gentlemen to whom I, as Chancellor, owe a personal, and the University as a whole, a public debt of gratitude. From the successive Vice-Chancellors who have held office during my Chancellorship,—Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Dr. Urquhart and Colonel Suhrawardy,—the University has received ungrudging service and I am glad to take this opportunity of thanking them for the whole-hearted assistance and sound advice which they in turn have placed so willingly at my disposal. The post of Vice-Chancellor is always an arduous and responsible one: in times like these it is fraught with anxiety as well. That men of the ability and character of the three gentlemen with whom I have been fortunate enough to be associated should be willing to come forward and face the labour and shoulder the responsibilities of this office is the best augury for the future both of the University and of its relations with Government and the world outside.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the time has come for me to say farewell. I shall have much reason to remember with pleasure and gratitude my connection with the University. It has already played a noble part in the life of Bengal: it may justly look forward to a still greater future,—a future in which it may well be that its responsibilities will be greater than they have ever yet been. I shall watch your progress with interest. May peace and prosperity attend you.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I rejoice to be able to extend to you a cordial welcome once again to our Convocation Hall.

It is customary for the Vice-Chancellor on this occasion to review in brief the work and activities of the University during the past twelve months.

OBITUARY.

Before taking up this task I must perform the mournful duty of referring to those whom the hand of death has taken away from us. All of them had retired from our University's active life as Members of the Senate except two. They had all worked in their respective spheres of life ungrudgingly with the common aim of advancing the cause of learning in this country and suitable reference has already been made in the Senate at the time when the news of their death was received.

Major General G. F. A. Harris of the Indian Medical Service was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1900, was a Member of the Syndicate and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. He was Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals from 1910-1912 and the first Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal when this office was created in this Presidency. The Companionship of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India was conferred on him. He retired from service in 1915. He was a most eminent physician and a teacher of remarkable gift.

Mr. H. R. James joined the Bengal Educational Service in 1890 and was Principal of the Presidency College from 1907 to 1916. He was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1904 and served on the Senate and Syndicate for many years. He was one of the stalwarts in the domain of Arts and Literature.

Mr. Lalmohan Das was a prominent Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1906, a Dean of the Faculty of Law in 1910 and Tagore Law Professor in 1889 and retired as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

Mr. H. M. Percival was appointed a Fellow of the University of Calcutta in 1885. He was an eminent scholar and a great educationist. He was senior Professor of English in the Presidency College and also acted as Principal of that College. After his retirement he continued to serve our University by acting as an Examiner of thesis for our Doctorates.

Mr. N. N. Raye was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1916, and was appointed a Fellow of the newly-created University of Patna in 1917. At the time of his death he occupied the responsible position of Principal of the Ripon College.

Maulavi Muhammad Irfan was appointed a Fellow of the University in 1915. After his retirement from service he continued to be an Examiner of this University and his services to learning were recognised by the award of the title of Khan Bahadur in the New Year's Honours List, which unfortunately he did not live to receive.

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy was the first Indian to have taken the Degree of Doctorate in Science from a British University. He was appointed a Fellow in 1879 when many of us were not perhaps born. He was the first Indian to be promoted from the Provincial to the Indian Educational Service and was for years Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Presidency College. He was appointed Principal of the Dacca College in 1903 and, in 1905, became the Principal of the Presidency College. He was also the first Indian to be the Registrar of the University of Calcutta and served from 1887 to 1889 as such. He was our first Inspector of Colleges from 1907 to 1916. At the time of his death he was one of the Honorary Fellows of our University.

By the sudden death of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and the death of Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri Islamic scholarship and Sanskrit learning have sustained irreparable loss.

Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh was a gentleman of remarkable intellectual gift and of an extremely genial disposition which made him popular with every person with whom he came into contact. He was the eldest son of Khan Bahadur Maulavi Khuda Bukhsh Khan, C.I.E., the founder of the well-known Library at Patna. He had inherited the genius and the love of learning and of books from his father and, like him, made a large collection of rare and valuable books and manuscripts. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was educated at Oxford from where he took his M.A. and the B.C.L. Degrees and was also called to the Bar. He was appointed a Lecturer in Islamic History and a Professor of the University Law College; both positions he occupied till his death in August last which, after a brief illness, came as a shock to his many friends.

Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri was appointed a Fellow of our University in 1888. He was Principal of the Sanskrit College from 1900 to 1908. He occupied a prominent position among Sanskrit scholars and a title of Mahamahopadhyay was conferred on him in 1898 and a C.I.E. in 1911. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on him by the University of Dacca in 1927, where he was for some time Professor and Head of his Department. Inspite of failing health and old age, the Mahamahopadhyay attended meetings of the Senate on all important occasions.

Lastly, I have to refer to the death of the Hon'ble Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi who died in harness as a Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy in charge of the Department of Education, and was an *ex-officio* Fellow of our University. His unexpected and sudden death is a tragedy which the country deeply mourns. He had served under three Viceroys as Education and Law Member. During his first term of office as Member in charge of the Department of Education,

no less than 6 Universities were established in India which is a unique record. He was uniformly popular amongst Hindus and Muslims, Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials. His hospitability and genial kindness were extended to all. While he was anxious to do all he could for the Muslim community, he never forgot the larger issue of the country as a whole.

General Administration.

My term of office as Vice-Chancellor began with the retirement, after 15 years of service, of the Registrar, Rai Bahadur Jnan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., on whose knowledge and experience I had hoped to count upon. Mr. Joges Chandra Chakravorti, M.A, our able Assistant Registrar, very efficiently continued to carry on the duties of the Registrar till 31st March last year when the Senate appointed Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherji, M. A., Ph.D., I.E.S., retired Principal of Sanskrit College, who resigned his appointment and retired from Government service to take up his present duties.

Mr. Haran Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., Secretary of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Science retired from service after 15 years. He proved himself a worthy son of his distinguished father, the late Sir Gurudas Banerji, who not only adorned the Bench of the High Court but was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of this University.

Congratulations.

It is a matter of the greatest gratification to me and I take a legitimate pride in the fact that so many distinctions have been attained by Members of the University during my incumbency as Vice-Chancellor.

Among the recipients of honours conferred by the Crown there are several Members of our Senate and our teaching staff :

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, who till lately was a Member of our Senate.

Sir Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, Barrister-at-Law, a distinguished scholar whose contributions to Islamic Law and Literature have been recognised by competent authorities in India and abroad and who is recognised as an authority in Muslim Law.

The Hon'ble Sir Bepin Behari Ghosh, a past Dean of the Faculty of Law, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who after retirement has filled more than once the post of Member of Your Excellency's Executive Council.

Mr. C. C. Biswas, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, a brilliant graduate of the University and one of the most active Members of the Senate and the Syndicate and in the public life of the country, has been made a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

The honour of Knighthood has also been conferred on our King George V Professor of Philosophy, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, about whose appointment on the Executive Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations I made reference in my Convocation Address last year and who has been granted leave to take up the duties of Vice-Chancellor of the newly-created Andhra University. This is the second instance when the occupant of King George V Chair of Philosophy of our University has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of a University in the South, Sir Brajendranath Seal, the predecessor of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, having been similarly called to organise the then newly-created University of Mysore.

During my term of office the University has conferred Honorary Degrees of Doctorate on four distinguished Members of the Senate.

Last year, the University for the first time conferred the Honorary Degree of D.Sc. in Engineering on that eminent Engineer of India and the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering

of our University, Sir Rajendranath Mookerji, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., and the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. on Professor Herambachandra Maitra, M.A., and that of M.D. on Dr. Charles Bentley, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., late Director of Public Health, Bengal, and the Degree of Doctor of Law on Your Excellency on the 11th January this year.

In my address at the Special Convocation I referred to the services rendered by Your Excellency to the cause of education and the advancement of learning and the positive advantages which have accrued to the University during your term of office and it is a matter of great regret to me that to-day is the last occasion when I shall have the privilege of welcoming Your Excellency as Chancellor to preside over our Convocation.

I would like to take this opportunity of bearing public testimony to the manner in which I have profited by your ripe experience and far-sighted guidance, in piloting the affairs of this great University which, difficult at all times, have been particularly arduous and troublesome of late.

I cannot help expressing my regret that the Hon'ble Lady Jackson is also visiting us for the last time. Inspite of the many calls on her fully occupied time she has always made it a point of attending our Convocation and encouraged us by her presence, and by her graciousness and charming personality, has won all hearts.

Readership Lectures.

During the year under review the University has been able to secure the services of distinguished scholars to deliver courses of lectures as University Readers on specialised subjects for the benefit of our advanced students.

Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutt, D.Sc., delivered a course of lectures on "Some Aspects of the History of Mathematics in India before 1600 A.D."

Mr. Hasan Shahid Suhrawardy, M.A. (Oxon.), was appointed on the recommendation of our late Chancellor, the Earl of

Lytton. Mr. Suhrawardy had won distinction as a connoisseur of Art in Moscow, Paris, Rome and Madrid and other important intellectual centres of Europe and his scholarship and command over the principal European languages and literature elicited the praise of such distinguished scholars as Walter Raleigh and Robert Bridges. It was a great pleasure for us to see Science and Art mingle in such friendly relations. The greatest Scientist of Asia, Sir Venkata Raman, presided over the entire series of his interesting and illuminating lectures on "Muslim Art in Spain" which were illustrated by means of lantern slides.

During my recent visit to Europe I had taken interest in the student's Self-Help Movement in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe and therefore it was a great pleasure for me to arrange for Dr. Anna Selig, Executive Secretary of the International University Service of Germany who is a visiting Professor of Viswa-Bharati, to deliver a course of interesting lectures on (1) International Students' Service—A modern University Movement, (2) Ideas and methods of University Education in Germany (with special reference to the new facilities for study of foreign students in Germany) and (3) Problems and movements of the students of Germany (including an account of the students' self-help movement after the War).

Mr. C. S. Rangaswamy, Editor of *Indian Finance* and Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal have been invited to deliver courses of lectures on Indian Finance in relation to World Finance and Ancient Indian Historical Records, respectively.

Madame Montessori, the eminent educationist of Italy, has been invited to deliver a series of lectures on her new educational system.

Professor W. Blaschke of the University of Hamburg was appointed a Reader of this University in 1930 and is on his way to deliver a course of lectures on the Origin and Development of Affine Geometry.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Professor of Islamology at the Oriental Institute of the Buda Pest University in Hungary and the

first Nizam-ul-Mulk Professor of Islamic Studies in the Viswa-Bharati, has been appointed to deliver a series of lectures on "Turkish Contribution to Islamic Culture from 1826 to 1926" and will deliver his lectures as soon as Government's approval of his appointment is received.

We have also been able to arrange interesting and highly instructive lectures for our students.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1931 on "The Evolution of Moral Ideals in India."

Professor W. S. Urquhart delivered a course of lectures on the "Idea of Progress in Eastern and Western Thought" as Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1930.

Professor Hemendra Kumar Sen, M.A., D.Sc., Sir Rash Behary Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1931, his subject being "Chemistry and Industrial Development in India."

Mr. Bipinchandra Pal, the eminent journalist and public man, has been appointed Girish Chandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931 and will deliver a course of lectures on the "Place of Girish Chandra Ghosh in modern Bengali Stage and Drama."

Dr. S. C. Bagchi, Principal of the University Law College, delivered a course of Lectures as Asutosh Lecturer on "Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities."

Our distinguished Scientist, Sir Venkata Raman, Palit Professor of Physics of our University, delivered a public lecture of absorbing interest on Atomising Light and Sound. It was a great pleasure for me to be able to arrange for the Most Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Bishop Westcott, whose hereditary interest in science and learning is well-known, to preside over the meeting.

University Professors.

Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., University Lecturer on History, has been appointed Professor of Mediaeval

and Modern History, in the chair associated with the name of our great Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Professor Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., Universiiy Professor, has been appointed to act as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the leave vacancy of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

Dr. Arnold McNair, C.B.E., LL.D., Fellow of the Caius College, University of Cambridge, and Lecturer in Law in that University, was appointed our Tagore Law Professor for the year 1931 and delivered a course of lectures on British Air Law.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.I.E., has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1932 to deliver a course of lectures on "History and Function of the Supreme Court."

Realising the importance of the subject and at the same time the great financial stringency through which we are passing, the Syndicate and the Senate invited me to deliver a course of lectures on selected topics of Hygiene and Public Health in an honorary capacity as a University Professor, giving me this status as a personal distinction.

FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS AND TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS

While we have thus been able to bring our students and teachers into closer association with so many distinguished scholars from the different parts of the country and from outside, we rejoice that we have also been able to send out some of our University teachers to famous seats of learning in the West to undertake research work in their special branches of learning. Dr. Praphullakumar Bose and Mr. Debiprasad Raychaudhuri, both of them University lecturers in the Department of Post-graduate Teaching in Science, have been awarded Foreign Scholarships out of the endowment created by one of our most generous benefactors, the late Sir Taraknath Palit. Our Khaira Professor of Chemistry of the University, Dr. Jnanendranath Mukerjee,

D.Sc., has been awarded one of the Travelling Fellowships founded by our eminent benefactor, the late Sir Rash Behary Ghose. The Second Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Science was awarded to Dr. Kedareswar Banerji and he is carrying on investigations on a problem in Molecular Physics in Davy Faraday Laboratory.

Mr. Benoykumar Sarcar, Lecturer on Economics in the Post-graduate Department, during his leave out of India usefully employed his time by visiting several Universities in Europe where he delivered lectures in different European languages, and I appreciate the co-operation of the Deutsche Akademie and the Bavarian Ministry of Education in this connection.

Mr. Jitendramohan Sen, an officer in the Education Department of the Government of Bengal, has been also awarded a Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Arts to enable him to study the working of compulsory Education Acts in some of the important States in the U. S. A. and to examine their provision with a view to tackle the problems concerning administration, finance and curriculum of primary education in urban and rural areas of Bengal.

The Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for 1931-32 was awarded to Mr. Labanyamohan Ray to enable him to study Metallurgy and Cutlery in Sheffield.

The University of Calcutta was represented on the 4th Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire for the first time by its Vice-Chancellor. The value of coming in contact with so many educationists has been great indeed.

The Senate has recently placed Sir Venkata Raman, our Palit Professor of Physics, on special deputation to Europe to enable him to attend the 9th International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry to be held at Madrid in Spain in April of the current year and then to visit and lecture at various European Universities.

Changes in Curriculum and Regulations.

The year under review has been marked by activities in the direction of re-organisation of Regulations and Rules for the improvement of standards of studies, examinations and general efficiency.

We have been able to make some material changes in the existing syllabuses in Mathematics for the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations which are now being examined by the Government of Bengal, while a Committee has been appointed to secure measures for re-organising the methods of teaching Solid Geometry and Astronomy to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours students, the syllabus of studies in History for the B.A. Examination, in Anthropology for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, in English for the M.A. Examination and in Geology for the Civil Engineering students at the B.E. Examinations.

The courses of study in many other subjects for the different examinations have undergone changes which are too many to refer to in detail here. Mention may however be made of the recent changes in the syllabuses of study in Arabic and Persian for the M.A. Examination for the University which include a provision for the submission of a thesis in lieu of part of the examination. I have no doubt that this has removed a long-felt want of students of the Mussalman community who would now take advantage of this important provision and engage in original investigation in Arabic and Persian in increasing number. Another important change in the curriculum of studies of the University is the proposed institution of a special degree, namely that of Doctor of Science in Public Health. My thanks are due to Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart, I.M.S., Director of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, through whose untiring efforts we have been able to work out the details of this special degree.

I am also indebted to my colleagues on the Faculty of Medicine and the Syndicate for helping me in maintaining a

high standard in Medical Examinations generally, and in the award of Doctorates and higher Medical Degrees.

Another important change in our Regulations has been with regard to the academical dress for the holders of the Doctorate Degrees. In order to distinguish between the Doctors of different Faculties facings of the colour of the appropriate Faculties have been provided for in the gowns, while it has been laid down that in the case of recipients of Honorary Degrees, the gown shall be of scarlet red colour with facings of the colour of the appropriate Faculty, and Your Excellency has been the first recipient of an Honorary Degree under this Regulation.

Unfortunately it has not been possible up till now to give a final shape to the proposed new Regulations for the Matriculation Examination which were first initiated in 1921 by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. These regulations will entirely change the system of teaching and examination for the Matriculation Examination now being followed in the University and a Committee of the Senate is now examining the proposal.

University Organisation and Finance.

The Regulations providing for the institution of Selection Committees for the appointment of Professors and Readers and of the Special Selection Committees for the re-appointment of University teachers which were framed on the basis of the recommendations of the University Organisation Committee, have been sanctioned by the Government of Bengal only three days ago and we expect to take up this important question very soon. Our teachers have ungrudgingly rendered valuable services for the cause of advancement of learning in this University and it is but fair and proper that the University will give them security of tenure and a suitable honorarium. Through their endeavours it has been found possible in this University to establish schools of original research in the different branches of learning which has earned for the University of Calcutta a prominent position in the world of science and letters.

The recommendations of the University Organisation Committee, as adopted by the Senate, together with the financial implications, had been submitted to Government in July, 1931. As the decision of Government was not received by the University in time to prepare the Budget Estimates for the year 1930-31, it was decided to prepare these estimates on the basis of the present commitments, without giving effect to any of the recommendations of the Organisation Committee. The Budget Estimates for the current year, as passed by the Senate, showed a deficit of Rs. 1,83,026 under the Fee and Post-graduate Teaching Funds, after taking into account the Government grant of Rs. 3,00,000 which was being paid from the commencement of the five-years period of settlement. An application was made to Government in August, 1931, for an additional grant of Rs. 1,83,000 to meet this deficit. Government informed the University that, under no circumstances would it be possible for them to make any additional grant in excess of the amount of one lakh paid last year. The Syndicate was thus faced with the difficulty of finding this additional sum of Rs. 83,000 to meet the deficit in its entirety. A Committee was appointed for the purpose to advise the Syndicate as to the course that should be followed. The Committee found that the opening balances of the two Funds, *viz.*, the Fee and Post-graduate Teaching Funds, had been practically exhausted and that there was no other source from which this additional amount could be met. The Committee had, therefore, to recommend various reductions in the sanctioned grants which amounted to Rs. 35,848. This amount, together with a total saving of Rs. 25,000 due to certain posts not being filled up, had the effect of reducing the deficit of Rs. 83,000 by Rs. 61,000.

Government have already paid a grant of Rupees Three Lakhs to meet the deficit for the current year and a further grant of Rupees One Lakh is expected within the current financial year.

The final decision of Government regarding the financial

assistance required for giving effect to the proposals of the University Organisation Committee has not yet been communicated to the University. Two Conferences were held for discussing the matter, one at Darjeeling and another at Calcutta. Final orders of the Government are being awaited.

Affiliated Institutions.

During the year under review two more colleges were affiliated to the University—Jorhat College of Assam and the Dupleix College at Chandernagore which has established yet another link between the cultured people of France and our University. As many as 6 colleges were granted extension of affiliation in additional subjects.

The total number of affiliated Colleges at the end of 1932 was 56, while the total number of recognised Schools was 1,171 of which 578 enjoyed permanent recognition and the rest enjoyed provisional recognition. As many as 39 Schools were recognised by the University for the first time during the year 1931.

Higher Degrees and Recognition of Research Work.

Eight candidates have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and one candidate has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The subjects of their research are indeed varied. A high standard has been maintained, and the recommendations for award have been received mostly from examiners in Europe of international reputation, and we had no hesitation in applying the pruning knife wherever necessary.

The Premchand Roychand Studentships in Arts and Science for the year 1930 have been awarded, four in Arts and two in Science, for original research in different branches of learning.

The rules for the award of these Studentships have been remodelled and the new rules have come into effect from the year 1931.

Under these rules the Studentship will ordinarily be indivisible

and in no case shall it be divided between more than two students.

For purposes of the award of these Studentships, the Literary and Scientific subjects have been divided into two groups each, and two studentships will ordinarily be awarded every year, one in a Literary subject and the other in a Scientific subject from these groups of subjects in rotation.

I offer my hearty congratulations to Dr. Qudrat-i-Khuda, D.Sc., on the award of the Premchand Roychand Studentship and to Mr. Abul Hussain who is the first Muslim to obtain the degree of Master of Law.

The Jagattarini Medal for the year 1931 has been awarded to Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., as most eminent for original contributions to Letters written in Bengali language. Dr. Dineschandra Sen has earned a European reputation as a Bengali scholar. It may be recalled that the first award of the Jagattarini Medal was on the great Laureate of Asia, our national poet Rabindranath Tagore, the first recipient of the Nobel prize for Letters in the East and the first Doctor of Literature, *honoris causa*, of our University. It is a curious coincidence that in 1913 my great predecessor, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, should have passed a resolution in the Syndicate for the conferment of this Honorary Degree and that in 1931 I shall have the honour of similarly taking the unanimous vote of the Syndicate for arranging an academic reception for Tagore. This pleasant function would have taken place to-morrow, but for reasons of health of the poet we had to postpone it. I wish the poet long life and health and that in the near future we may have the privilege and pleasure of receiving our septuagenarian poet-philosopher in this historic Hall.

Influence of Teachers on Students.

I should like to say a few words regarding the relations of pupils and their teachers and guardians. I have often heard

the complaint that students in these days have lost respect for their teachers, and that parents and guardians have lost their hold and influence over them. I am afraid I cannot put the entire blame on the young men for this unfortunate state of affairs. I began my professional career as a House Surgeon and teacher in the Medical College of Bengal where I was a student, and I have personal knowledge of the value of the golden link of the affection and respect that bind the teacher and the pupil and the tremendous influence which a teacher wields over the pupils in his charge. I am afraid something has gone wrong, some link in the chain has grown weak and things have been allowed to slide and pious expressions of regret at the turn of events have been made time and again without doing anything actively either to remedy or to overcome the evils. The result is this lamentable want of influence of the elders upon the minds of the young, and of the teachers upon their pupils.

I was painfully surprised when I was told the other day that neither the principals nor the professors of certain affiliated institutions were in a position to identify their students whom they were going to present at the Convocation. I deplore the loss of that personal contact and healthy relation between the pupils and the teachers which elicited the devotion of the *Sishya* for his *Guru*.

I feel that a drastic and early change in the present policy is essential in order to counteract the unfortunate results which we painfully witness to-day. The teachers of our young students along with their parents and guardians possess the widest possible opportunities of directly and strongly influencing their minds and characters during the most receptive periods of their lives and they can give the most powerful turn to their entire intellectual and moral development. "As the sapling's bent so the trees incline." With this end in view, the students should be brought into intimate personal relationship with the teachers and professors outside the class-rooms and receive healthy inspirations from them. I should like Government on the one hand

to do everything possible to help and advance the status and dignity of teachers and on the other hand the authorities of every school and college should appoint only specially selected instructors who both inside the class-rooms and outside the school and on the playgrounds, by their acts and utterances, help to create in the minds of young students those fine sensibilities which lead to the development of lofty character and high ideals. Every one must have the highest regard for persons who at the call of duty, at personal inconvenience and sacrifice of opportunities of adopting a lucrative profession and chances of becoming a dignitary of the State or a well-paid officer of the Crown, have devoted themselves on short rations to the noble ideal of propagating the light of Knowledge and Learning.

I need hardly stress the fact that in the East we have an ancient tradition of showing the highest respect to the selfless devotees of the temple of learning. The echoes of the striking words of *Chanakya* have rolled from soul to soul for generations,

বিদ্বত্বঞ্চ নৃপত্বঞ্চ নৈব তুল্যং কদাচন।
স্বদেশে পূজ্যতে রাজা বিদ্বান্ সর্ব্বত্র পূজ্যতে॥

"You can never compare those who hold the highest position in riches and power to those who hold the highest position in learning. The potentate commands the allegiance of his own people, whereas the learned Savant is adored by the people of every country." *O Vidwan*, practise *Tyaga*, renunciation of self, and demonstrate your *Guna*, potentialities of the force of your character, and regain your lost position—the age-old heritage of your country.

During my term of office I have had the privilege of having many opportunities of cultivating friendly relations with professors and principals of colleges and of exchanging views in conferences. It is indeed gratifying for me to be able to state that they have always given ready support to the University and wise counsel and constructive suggestions to me. I am glad to gather

from the information given to me at a recent conference of principals that the tendency amongst students to commit breaches of discipline and insubordination, to indulge in disrespect and defiance of authority and to rush headlong into political agitation and demonstrations had not assumed such proportions as to cause them serious anxiety. Though I am not a pessimist I cannot deny the undoubted fact that some of our young men have been misled by designing persons who have beguiled them into wrong paths for their own selfish ends and that the danger is still very great and our utmost efforts should be directed towards keeping our students in the path of their normal activities.

Realising the urgency of the situation and the supreme necessity of stemming the tide of terrorism, the Syndicate in November last viewed with strong disapproval and concern the growth of terrorist activities in the country and earnestly appealed to all responsible persons having the guidance of young men in their hands to exert their active influence to counteract the spread of terrorist ideas amongst impressionable youths. I repeat what I mentioned at the meeting of the Senate a couple of months ago, that it is not for me to digress into the paths of politics and civics and speak of the terrible disaster that terrorism will bring in its train to the country and the set-back it will cause to our aspirations for attaining Swaraj. But as the custodian of the honour and good name of the greatest Seat of Learning in Asia, I thought it necessary to give the resolution of the Syndicate publicity by bringing it to the special notice of all members of the Senate and through them of the wider public and appeal to the parents and guardians of boys and girls, whose young lives are threatened with destruction by the torrential gusts of revolutionary ideas, to lend their whole-hearted support and active co-operation to the University in counteracting this terrible menace to the peaceful pursuit of knowledge.

GRADUATES AND STUDENTS.

I must now perform the time-honoured duty of addressing the graduates and students on the day of the Convocation.

New topics and fresh ideas are not easy to bring out—

صریفان باده‌ها خوردند و رفتند * تهی خمخانه‌ها کردند و رفتند

(My companions have been in the Tavern before me. They have drained the cups dry and have not left even the dregs for me.)

Graduates of the Calcutta University! To-day marks the crowning event of your labours of years. I offer you my sincere and hearty congratulations. By virtue of the authority vested in me as Vice-Chancellor of this University I have to-day admitted you to your respective degrees. I have charged you that in your life and conversation you show yourselves worthy of the same. It is not a conventional phrase which I have repeated to you. It is not a mere formula but it is a solemn and a serious parting message from the University to each and every one of you. You have been educated under the auspices of this University and have been equipped with the best accoutrement for the battle of life. You should receive this message from your *Alma Mater* in all seriousness. May you serve your Motherland, your community and your University as true and faithful sons and daughters. You have been fitted by your education to judge and examine for yourselves every question that comes before you with care and thoroughness. By your training you should have your character and mind so well formed and developed that you may have the courage to refuse to be carried away by doctrines the sophistry of which is masked by making them appeal to one's feelings or imaginations and are set out with subtlety or with an air of dogmatic authority. Accept them only if they stand the test of truth and considered reason. I do not ask you to be self-opinionated. On the contrary, I ask you to be

tolerant of the motives and actions of other people. Do not be aggressive but live and let live. Pray do not mistake rudeness for independence nor courtesy and reverence to elders and obedience to authority as a mark of weakness or servitude. They are indeed the marks of a strong character and of gentlemanly and manly instincts. May you never deviate from the straight path of honour and wisdom.

Students of my University! You are the future hopes of your country. Endeavour to attain stability of character. Cultivate and develop that spirit of obedience to lawful authority which is the necessary concomitant of true academic discipline and if you aspire to be in the position of leaders of men to-morrow you must learn to obey to-day. Make yourselves leaders of culture and progress—prove yourselves true and useful citizens, worthy of the confidence and respect, alike of your countrymen and of yourselves. Discipline of mind such as I have advocated does not in the least mean relinquishment of your own national dignity or loss of genuine pride in the magnificent legacy which has been bequeathed to you by your ancient civilization. Do not allow yourselves to be exploited by designing persons for their own ends. Do not participate in movements which will divert your energies from the pursuit of knowledge which is your primary concern. Premature participation in active political propaganda is analogous to the artificial stimulation caused by dope or drink. One gets used to it and craves for more and more and the dose is increased on and on till a stage arrives when the mind refuses to react any more to any form of stimulation whatsoever. The system can bear no more and the crash comes, and disaster and ruin suddenly overtake the unfortunate victim. Continued extra-academic excitement undermines the stamina of our students and their capacity for sustained work. One of the evil consequences of this is manifest in the deplorable results in competitive examinations. There are other unmistakable signs of retrogression which I would not elaborate or recount on this occasion.

BIMBISARA-SAISUNAGA CHRONOLOGY

From the sixth century B.C. or earlier there arose in India a new political condition the history of which is little known to us, but the earliest glimpses of which are to be found in some of the older Jâtakas as well as in the Buddhist canon, where we find repeated references to a large number of states in Northern India. The Anguttara Nikâya is replete with the stereotyped list of the 'Mahâjanapadas' of which it mentions sixteen. India was divided into these sixteen 'Mahâjanapadas' each trying for supremacy over the other. How long these states maintained themselves we do not know, but a process of centralisation began, which ultimately resulted in the prominence of four monarchies, Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha. But gradually three of them lost their power and we find Magadha in the forefront with a full-fledged imperial power. This period of Indian history centres round the fortunes of Magadha, the power of which came to extend over the whole of Northern India. These Magadhan princes were destined to bring the whole of Northern India, and gradually the whole of India, under their sway. Magadha dominated India and under the Mauryas the history of India was nothing but the history of Magadha. Unfortunately for us, the history of this period is wrapped in obscurity, as there is no historical account left to us in the true sense of history. The sources which are at our disposal are scanty and complicated. A critical study of these sources will prove that these accounts are 'history distorted.'

Puranic king-lists preserve the names of the rulers of Magadha. For this period we are entirely dependent on them. But with Bimbisâra and Ajâtaśatru we come to the firm ground of history. This has been due to a peculiar circumstance, namely the synchronism of some of the Magadhan kings with the greatest religious teachers of the time. Both Mahâvira and

Buddha and many others lived during this period. King Bimbisâra was an empire-builder of considerable talents. He had annexed 'Anga' and had received the state of 'Kasi' as bath-powder money of his Kośala wife.' [1]

All accounts agree that Bimbisâra was succeeded by Ajâtaśatru, who, according to the Buddhists, was a junior contemporary of Buddha. He is denounced by the Buddhists for his sins and crimes, and branded as a parricide. He followed in the path of his father and, brought up in the air of imperialism, carried on wars which led to the annexation of Vaisali and other kingdoms and humbled the power of Kosala.

Now the sources of our information as regards chronology and order of the dynasty are traditions recorded in the early literature of the land. The important works which help us in constructing the history of the dynasty are—

(1) the Purânas ;
(2) the Pali canon of the Buddhists ;
(3) the literature of the Jains.

All the Purâṇas tell us unanimously that there were ten kings in this dynasty, whose successions were in the following order :—

1. Sisunâga	6. Ajâtaśatru
2. Kâkavarṇa	7. Darśaka
3. Kṣemadharma	8. Udayin
4. Kṣemajit (Kṣatraujas)	9. Nandivardhan
5. Bimbisâra	10. Mahânandin

Only the Vishṇu slightly differs by placing Darśaka between Ajâtaśatru and Udayin. As for the length of the reigns, to all the kings has been alloted a period. But in this respect the different Purâṇas are not consistent. It can be noted here for reference that to Bimbisâra they allot twenty-eight years.

[1] नहानचुन्नमूल (क्षानचूर्णमूल).

In the Pali canon we find the same number of kings, but here the names of Darśaka, Mahânandin and Nandivardhan have been omitted. The three new names added by the Buddhists are Nâgadâsaka, Muṇḍa and Anuruddha. In another important point the Pali works are not in agreement with the Brahmanical works. The Puranic genealogy may be arranged in two groups. The first headed by Śiśunâga and the other by Bimbisâra. Provisionally identifying Darśaka with Nâgadâsaka we find that the arrangement has been reversed in the Buddhist texts. The Mahâvaṁsa contradicts the Purâṇas in another important point too. Here a long period of fifty-two years has been assigned to Bimbisâra.

The Jains have altogether omitted the names of the Śiśunâga group. Under these circumstances it is a very difficult task to reconcile all these three traditions which have their respective advocates among modern scholars. But a comparative study of the Brahmanic and Buddhist records (especially the Dîpavaṁśa and Mahâvaṁśa) will clearly show that despite all discrepancies in themselves Dîpavaṁśa and Mahâvaṁśa are consistent, affording the 'best possible hypothesis.'

At the very outset we meet with difficulties in determining the number of kings. If credence is to be placed in the Purâṇas the number is ten. But the existence of only three of these ten kings, Bimbisâra, Ajâtaśatru and Udayin is established by all the three evidences. Even if we omit the Jain source we find that the Buddhists do not mention the names of two and three of the Puranic list. Darśaka, whose existence has been proved by the discovery of Bhâsa's Svapnavâsabdattâ, seems not to have been mentioned by the Buddhists, unless he is to be identified with Nâgadâsaka. But Dr. Pradhan objects to such identification and is of opinion that it 'stands on bad philology.[1] He opines that the two names Nandivardhan and Mahânandin have

[1] Chronology of Ancient India, p. 212.

not been mentioned by the Buddhists because they are to be identified with Śiśunâga and Kâkavarṇa respectively. The Buddhists again introduce two other kings, Anuruddha and Munda. The existence of the latter has probably been confirmed.

As regards the order we are still more in difficulty. The first eight kings of the Puranic genealogy may be arranged into two groups, the first headed by Śiśunâga and the second by Bimbisâra. This has been completely reversed by the Buddhists. The Ceylonese chronicle states that 'all the kings from Ajâtaśatru to Nâgadâsaka were parricides. The people being angry, banished the then ruling dynasty and an 'amâtya,' Śiśunâga by name, was raised to the throne.' The Puranic order of things has been accepted *in toto* by V. Smith. But several modern scholars are not in agreement with Dr. Smith and objections have been raised by many of them. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri, an upholder of the Ceylonese tradition, argues that "the Puranic statement that Sisunaga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas[1] prove the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition that he came after Bimbisâra, who was a contemporary of the Pradyotas." In view of this we cannot accept the other Puranic statement which makes Śiśunâga the progenitor of the Bimbisâra family. For we see that in this point the Purâṇas contradict themselves.

After Śiśunâga we have Kâkavarṇa, according to the Purâṇas, and Kâlâśoka, according to the Ceylonese chronicle, as his son and successor. But Profs. Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar are of opinion that they were one and the same person. And this has been confirmed by Asokâvadâna, which mentions Kâkavarṇa as the son and successor of Śiśunâga. The location of Śiśunâga's capital at Giribraja would lead the upholders of the Puranic tradition to place him before Udayin, because of the fact that the Jain texts, Vayu Puraṇ and Gargi Samhitâ, all attribute to Udayin

[1] Matsya, 272, 6.

the foundation of the city of Pataliputra on the southern bank of the Ganges.[1] But a Burmese tradition informs us that Kâlâśoka, son and successor of Śiśunâga, transferred his capital from Rajgriha to Pataliputra. As we have already seen that Udayin transferred his capital to Pataliputra and that Kâlâśoka had also to transfer his royal residence from Rajgriha to Pataliputra, those two facts clearly show that there must have been one who came before Kâlâśoka and after Udayin and reverted to the old capital. Who this predecessor was is clearly manifested by the Puranic statement, that Śiśunâga "will make 'Giribraja' his own abode." As Bimbisâra and Ajâtaśatru were the first to establish Magadhan sway over Kasi, and as Kasi is included within the dominions of Śiśunâga, Śiśunâga must have come after Bimbisâra and Ajâtaśatru. Furthermore, in the Mâlavankâravattu, a Pali work of recent date but closely following the 'ancient books,' it is stated that Vaiśâli, which was a royal residence of Śiśunâga, ultimately turned to be his capital.[2] That monarch, not unmindful of his mother's origin, re-established the city of Vaiśâli and fixed in it the royal residence.[3] From that time Rajgriha lost her rank of royal city which she never attained afterwards. Thus we see, from these that Śiśunâga flourished after the palmy days of Rajgriha, *i.e.*, after Bimbisâra and Ajâtaśatru (who may be credited with having enjoyed those days of Rajgriha with its necessary pomp and grandeur). Dr. Pradhan has clearly stated the fact "that Śiśunaga had his capital at Vâiśâlî and not at Pataliputra seems to be one of the reasons for which ill-informed Puranists of a far later period have been tempted to carry Sisunâga and Kâkavarna to the top of the list above Bimbisara, as they knew that Udayin transferred his capital to Pataliputra."[4]

After having established the probable priority of the Bimbisâra-Ajâtaśatru group we should now turn our attention to determine

1 J.B.O.R.S., I, p. 74.
2 S.B.E., XI, p. xvi.
3 Brigandet, Life or Legend of Buddha, II, p. 15.
4 Chronology of Ancient India. Pradhan, p. 220.

their successors. According to the Purâṇas, Ajâtaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka. But the Dighanikâya (1, 50 Dial 1, 68) mentions Udayibhadda as the son of Ajâtaśatru and in the Dîpavaṁśa (V. 97) he is referred to as the successor of Ajâtaśatru. His name also occurs in the medieval Jain and Hindu lists, quite independent of the Buddhist work. That Udayin was the son and the immediate successor of Ajâtaśatru is also vouchsafed by the accounts recorded in the Jain work Kathâkôça and Parisisthaparvan. In the face of all these contradictory Jain and Buddhist evidence, it cannot be affirmed with certainty that Ajâtaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka. A passage from H. Tsung's travels (Si-yu-ki) goes to confirm the Ceylonese tradition that Darśaka was the last king of the Bimbisâra line. "To the S. W. of the old Sangharama about 100 li is the Sanghârâma of Darsaka (Ti-lo-she-kia). It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisâra (Pin-pi-sha-lo) Raja."[1] The second Sanghârâma was probably named after Darśaka who is depicted here as the last of the line. But according to Dr. Pradhan, he was not a king at all. He supposes that he was anyhow connected with the reign of Bimbisâra for twenty-four years thus explaining away Bimbisâra's long rule of 52 years (28 and 24) as stated in the Mahâvaṁsa.

There is again another trouble with Udayin's successors. If the Purâṇas are to be believed they are Nandivardhana and Mahânandin. If credence is to be placed with the Ceylonese chronicles they were Anuruddha, Munda and Dasaka. The Ceylonese tradition has been corroborated to some extent by the Anguttara Nikâya, which refers to Munda, the king of Pataliputra.[2] The chronicles state that Munda was the grand-son of Ajâtaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar mentions his queen Bhadrâdêvî and treasurer Priyaka. That the capital of Munda was at Pataliputra places him after Udayin who had removed the capital to Pataliputra.

[1] Beal, Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Record of the Western World, II, p. 102.

[2] Mahâvaṁsa, IV, 2, 3; Divyavadana, Cowell, XXVI, p. 369 ; Ang. Nik., Nipata V, 50, Mundarâjavagga.

Whatever view we may accept about the number of kings and whatever order of them we may accept, neither can we fix any precise dates to these kings nor can we determine the total regnal period of these kings. As we have seen, the Purâṇas assign 28 years to Bimbisâra (though some make 38 for 28 which is apparently due to the errors of the scribe) whereas the Pali works give him 52 years. Illustrations of such disagreement between the sources may however be added. As for the total duration, the Purâṇas assign 363 years to the dynasty as a whole, in which case we are to allot 36 years to each king (ten kings taken) which Dr. Bhandarkar observes 'is quite preposterous.' At the same time, we cannot assign the period 321 (Matsya), 332 (Vayu) obtained by adding together the duration of the several kings.

In this troubled sea of chronology of the Śiśunâga dynasty we have, however, got some 'sheet anchors,' if we are at all allowed to designate them so. Proceeding from some definitely known facts we can arrive at a probable date of the accession of Bimbisâra and Nandivardhana and the time when the dynasty came to an end. The usual method of ascertaining the probable date of the accession of Bimbisâra is to reckon back from the date of Buddha's parinirvâṇa. Buddha's parinirvâṇa took place in the eighth year of Ajâtaśatru's reign who succeeded Bimbisâra. Accordingly, we find that Bimbisâra came to the throne 60 years before the Master's parinirvâṇa (parinirvâṇa, eight years of Ajâtaśatru and the reigning period of Bimbisâra, p. 8. B).

As for the date of parinirvâṇa, and for the reign of Bimbisâra there is a difference of opinion amongst the traditions. The two traditional dates of parinirvâṇa are 543 B.C. and 483 B.C. Without entering into details we can note here that the year 483 B.C. has been admitted by competent critics to be the probable date. The arguments in favour of this date are strong enough to compel even Dr. Smith, an upholder of 543 B.C., to admit that 'the date can not be fixed with anything like certainty.' He has preferred the year 543 B.C. in the light of the reading of the Khâravela Inscription. According to the

reading of Messrs. Banerjee and Jayaswal in 1917 J.B.O.R.S., wherein the accession of Nandivardhan has been placed at 465 B.C., we are obliged to move back all the Śiśunâga dates more than fifty years, which supports the Ceylonese date for the death of Buddha, *viz.*, 544-45 B.C.

As we shall shortly see that the reading of 1917 has been given up and according to the new reading of 1927 the date of accession has been fixed at 457 B.C. This makes us move back the date not by 50 years but by 42 years. Though this change does not materially affect his arguments, yet, for another ground, his arguments cannot be accepted. He has put too much reliance on the Purâṇas as regards the period assigned to each king.

On the other hand, the dotted records kept up at Canton until A.D. 489, Paramârtha's life of Vasuvandhu and the Khotan tradition, all support the year 483 B.C. What is more convincing is that Profs. Geiger and Fleet have proved that in Ceylon, down to the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Nirvana era was reckoned from 483 B.C. In passing it may be noted that the origin of the era of 543 B.C. is probably the era of the accession of Bimbisâra, current at first at Magadha, which in later times travelled to Ceylon, and was thus confounded with the Nirvana era of 483 B.C.

Taking 543 B.C. as the date of Parinirvana and assigning 28 years to Bimbisâra Smith has obtained 582 B.C. as the probable date (543+8 years of Ajâtaśatru's reign and 28 years of Bimbisâra with a marginal error of three years). Dr. Raichaudhuri in his Political History has fixed it at 543 B.C. by taking 483 B.C. as the Nirvana date and alloting 52 years to Bimbisâra.

Though according to many it is absurd for a man to rule for 52 years, yet this much can be asserted at any rate that Bimbisâra lived before 516 B.C., because of the fact that in the time of Bimbisâra, Gandhara was an independent kingdom ruled over by Pûkkûsâti. By 516 B.C., Gandhara had to lose her

independence being subject to Persia, as recorded in the Behistun Inscriptions of King Darius.

Nandivardhan, one of the ten sons of Kâlâsôka, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is probably Nandivardhan of the Puranic list. Mr. Jayaswal opines that the headless Patna statue of the Indian Museum is a portrait of this king to which view Mr. R. D. Banerjee concurred, though it is not yet accepted by all.

The Hatigumpha Inscription of king Khâravela of Kalinga informs us something about a Nanda king. The sixth line of this inscription runs thus: Pamchame cha dâni vase Na(ṁ)darâjativasasata(ô)(ghâ ?)ṭitam.[1]

"In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 303 (103) years since king Nanda conducted it to the city." This Nanda is identified with Nandivardhan on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to Purvanandas who, we are told, should be distinguished from Nava or New (Later) Nandas and identified with Mahanandin.[2] The Kathâsaritsâgara, however, distinguishes Purvananda not from Navananda but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda) the re-animated corpse of king Nanda.[3] The existence of one Nanda line is vouchsafed, by both the Puranas and the Ceylonese chronicles, in which Nandivardhan is represented as a Śaiśunâga king and sharply distinguished from Nanda line. Mr. Chanda says that there is nothing in the Purâṇas to say that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga. Moreover those authorities the Purâṇas state that when the Śiśunâgas were on the Magadhan throne, thirty-two kings were ruling at Kalinga synchronously.

All these have however been put to an end by the revised reading of the Khâravela inscription of 1927. In this reading

[1] Panchamedaṁ.
[2] J.B.O.R.S., 1918, p. 91.
[3] Taranga, 4.
Nandamahîpatî Kathâ, Taranga, 5.
Yogananda Katha, pp. 8-17.
[4] J.B.O.R.S., III, p. 238.

Mr. Jayaswal has found fault with the old translation and holds that "the natural translation is that one canal excavated in 300 (103)th year of king Nanda and not by king Nanda (the varsha or year of Nanda = the year of Nanda) in which case the original passage would have been Naṁdarâjôghatena. Where is this Nanda era? Alberuni speaks of an era beginning in 458 B.C. associated with king Harshavardhana which did puzzle him. But Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has rightly pointed out that this is not Harshavardhana era but Nandavardhana era (Harsha = Nanda = Nandavardhana). With our knowledge of the existence of an era of Nanda beginning with 458 B.C. (actually in use in Mathura and Kanauj, as Alberuni states), and the fact that Nanda was a great conqueror, to which his conquest of Avanti of the Pradyotas might be referred, we can safely identify the Nanda era or the era of 458 B.C. as one started by king Nanda.[1] In this connection it would not be out of place to mention that the Ceylonese account of the rise of the Nandas after the Śaiśunâgas fits in well with the Greek account of the rise of the Nandas.

As to the last limit of the dynasty we are to know the unknown from the definitely fixed known dates. From the definitely known date of Chandragupta Maurya which is 322 B.C. with a probable error not exceeding three years we are to move backwards, for we know that after the Śiśunâgas came the Nandas and then Chandragupta Mauryya. Now tradition assigns a hundred or a hundred and fifty years to two generations of the Nandas which is highly incredible. The Ananda mode of reckoning used by the poet Chand suggests ninety or ninety-one years as the true period covered by the two generations. In that case the Śaiśunâgas came to an end by the year 322 and 91, *i.e.*, 413 B.C.

MANINDRA NATH BAGCHI

[1] J.B.O.R.S., XIII, p. 240.

CORSAIRS

With reaping sweep of watery chime the tawny rowers kept in time
And beat the sea to frothy flakes one morning at the glimmering prime.

South-east the turbaned Nubian steered before the sun had combed his beard;
Under the goad, south-east they rowed till distance like a fish was speared.

The galleon stood with idle sails; the crew were lolling at the rails;
And waiting for the wind they told great merry tales of deep-sea gales.

Swift as a snake into a brake the corsairs swept across their wake
And circled round in angry mood, and soon their smoking broadside spake.

The galleon's masts crashed overside; the galleon draggled in her pride,
Swung helpless as a rotted log adrift upon a running tide.

In red-scarved rout they swarmed aboard and ravished her with fire and sword,
And took, like kings or cardinals, their pleasure of her precious hoard.

They dipped their reeking hands, and through their bloody fingers flashed and flew
Pearls, glittering sequins, topazes, yea, all the rainbow's medleyed hue.

Then back with chime of watery whirl the laughing rowers struck a-swirl,
And sped them homeward to their isle ere morning's beard was full in curl!

O coloured times! O coloured crimes! Their echoes fill a poet's rhymes
With fire and glow and braveries and whispers as of lyric limes.

But in my dreaming soul I see full-flash a coloured victory
Beyond the treasure-taking might of corsairs roaring up to lee.

I see a ship, divine and swift, across the sun-rayed waters lift,
Across the seas in magic course move onward without drift or rift!

Its rowers are in golden kit, and godlike on the benches sit,
And never ship on any sea could have the roving heels of it!

I see it flashing on its way, swift as a sea-mew through the spray.
Is that a treasure-galleon, look! becalmed amid the burning day?

Go, ravish her in rapt accord! In eager rout, go, swarm aboard,
And take, like sons of very God, your pleasure of Death's precious hoard!

WALLACE B. NICHOLS

THE VALUE OF HYBRIDISATION IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF CROPS

The agricultural departments of India have reason to be proud of the results they have achieved through their efforts to improve the crops of the country. Much work has been done; but much remains to be done. The recent Agricultural Commission,[1] under the Chairmanship of the Marquis of Linlithgow, remarked in its abridged report that: "The agricultural departments of India are still at the beginning of the work on improving some of the most important crops in India, such as the millets, of which *Juar* (*Sorghum vulgare*), the acreage under which is only exceeded by that under rice and wheat, is the most extensively grown...The comparative neglect of these millets is especially to be regretted in view of the prominence of these grains in the diet of a large section of the population throughout peninsular India and of the fact that they are so largely grown in tracts which are liable to famine."

How, therefore, may we improve our crops in the future? Briefly, the answer is, apart from improvements in soil conditions, by the acclimatization of superior foreign types, selection and hybridisation. The introduction of foreign seeds and the replacement of existing indigenous varieties by superior exotic types has not, however, proved very successful in India, chiefly on account of unfavourable climatic and soil conditions. For example, several attempts have been made to introduce American cotton into India, but, though the area under this variety in the Punjab has increased "the quality of the lint (according to Dr. A. Howard) appears to have deteriorated and the fibre is now deficient in strength." Moreover, as Mr. W. Roberts has pointed out in a paper[2] on the failure two years ago of the

[1] *Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, Calcutta, 1928.

[2] *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIV, ii, 1929.

American cotton crop in the Punjab. "The history of American cotton in the Punjab for the past nine or ten years has been one of occasional serious crop failures." There have been partial but extensive failures in the last two years, and a particularly serious failure in 1926.

Attempts to introduce exotic varieties of wheat and tobacco have also proved unsuccessful, mostly because they require special treatment and favourable conditions, which are not obtainable in India. And it is the considered opinion of Dr. A. Howard[1] who, with Mrs. Howard, has done more than anyone else for the improvement of Indian crops, that: "The application of modern methods of selection and hybridisation to the mixed crops now grown have proved much more successful than the acclimatization of exotics."

To selection a great deal of importance has been attached in India. The Agricultural Commission expressed the opinion that "...there can be no doubt that selection offers the readiest means of effecting improvements in Indian conditions, and it is by this method that the greatest successes of the agricultural departments, except in regard to wheat and sugar-cane, have been obtained. Hybridisation is a much slower process than selection and requires greater scientific experience and a higher level of scientific aptitude."

It is noteworthy, however, that in other countries (and even in this, as our agricultural periodicals prove) increasing attention is being paid to hybridisation as a means of improving crops, and on reflection it will be obvious that the ultimate improvement of almost any crop will depend on successful hybridisation. Indeed, selection is but a prelude to hybridisation. A time must come when the isolation, introduction and cultivation of special natural varieties of crops can offer no further opportunities for improvement, which must then depend on hybridisation. For successful hybrids possess an increased

[1] *Crop Production in India*, p. 63 (Oxford University Press, 1924).

adaptability and vigour (due, it is supposed, to their heterozygosity) and new combinations of certain desirable characters which natural forms do not possess.

I believe, therefore, that more attention should be paid to hybridisation as a means of improving our crops, though the Agricultural Commission is of opinion that we should 'adhere' to selection for the present, for it is always wise to anticipate what is inevitable. The criticism of the Agricultural Commission is scarcely relevant. Scientific successes are seldom won without patient research, and the presumption that the production of good hybrids requires " greater scientific experience and a higher level of scientific aptitude " is scarcely an argument against hybridisation. Moreover, as Mrs. Gabrielle L. C. Howard pointed out in her presidential address [1] to the Agricultural Section of the Sixteenth Indian Science Congress held in Madras in 1928, the insinuation that selection work can be carried out by untrained men is erroneous, and " if adopted is likely to lead to much waste of time and money." Both methods of securing improved varieties require similar qualifications and powers of investigation. The Agricultural Commission's comments, however, seem to be the result of unfortunate phrasing, for it recognises that: " Sooner or later, of course, there comes a point when the plant breeder may be forced to resort to hybridisation if any progress is to be secured."

The mechanism of heredity is so well-known that it is unnecessary to discuss the principles on which hybridisation is based. It is with the value of hybridisation that we are concerned here and I shall attempt to prove its value with selected examples. In Canada and the north of the United States of America, to go outside India for a moment, after experiments extending over several years, Saunders obtained a high quality bread wheat known as "Marquis " by crossing " Red Fife " with an Indian variety—" Hard Red Calcutta." It is probably

[1] See the *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIV, 1929, p. 153.

the most successful hybrid yet produced, and is now grown over 2,000,000 acres or more of land. The Farrer hybrids, cultivated in certain parts of Australia, have done much to raise the standard of wheat in that country, while in England, Biffen's new hybrid, "Yeoman," is in great demand by most farmers.

Turning to India, we find that experiments in selection and hybridisation have been carried out successfully, as Dr. Howard and others have shown, in connection with cotton, wheat, sugar-cane and certain other crops. With such crops as rice, jute and oil-seeds, however, much remains to be done. At present, hardly any attempt is made to keep the varieties of the plants separate, and hence mixed crops are the general rule. Most of these are low and uncertain yielders, of no particular quality, and in consequence, their market value is low. If, on the other hand, better varieties were substituted, which give an increased and uniform yield, the value of the crops would be greatly enhanced. And "better varieties" eventually mean hybrid varieties.

Some idea of the value of hybridisation in improving the principal crops of the country may be gathered from a brief survey of our principal crops. With wheat, which occupies about 24,000,000 acres in India, we have been almost as successful in producing high-yielding, cross-bred varieties as workers in America and Australia have been, most of the work being done at Pusa by Dr. and Mrs. Howard, who were sustained in the belief[1] that "wheat of the same class as the best of those exported from North America could be grown in India." And that "There was every reason to place India on a similar plane to Canada in the wheat markets of the world."

One of the hybrids, "Pusa 107, produced at the Agricultural Research Institute won a prize at the Royal Agricultural

1 See A. Howard and G. L. C. Howard: "The Improvement of Indian Wheat." *Bulletin No. 171, Agricultural Research Institute,* Pusa, 1928. (With bibliography.)

Show at Sydney, and was followed with a difference of half a mark by "Pusa 4," which Dr. A. L. Humphries, a former President of the National Association of British and Irish Millers, considers to be "as good as any wheat produced in the world" and selects as his "first choice of all Indian wheats for bread-making purposes." Another Pusa hybrid "Pusa 52"—one of the new "50 series" of improved Indian wheats which equals or exceeds the yield of older Pusa wheats—has given as high a yield as 27 maunds per acre at Pusa and 32 maunds at Benipore, and is consequently being extensively distributed where a bearded wheat is required. It was obtained by crossing "Punjab 9" with "Pusa 6," and combines the high yield and bearded nature of the former with the capacity for rust-resistance characteristic of the latter. The improved types (especially Pusa 4, 12, 52, 54 and 100) produced at Pusa have already benefited the country considerably, for about 2,500,000 acres have already been planted with them, and Dr. and Mrs. Howard estimate the annual profits to the growers at two and a half million pounds sterling. How much the country will benefit from the cultivation of these types, and from efforts to improve them still further, may be gathered from the area under wheat, which is second only to the enormous acreage planted with rice.

So far as rice is concerned, India produces from three-fifths to two-thirds of the rice-output of the whole world, excluding China, for which no statistics are available. From 1900 to 1921, the annual production of this crop approximated 35,000,000 tons of cleaned rice, of which Bengal produced the most, the total area under cultivation in 1922 being nearly 81,535,000 acres (the estimates for 1925-26 are 80,172, 000 acres) and the average yield per acre 910 lbs. Yet the standard of rice produced by India can be greatly improved. A stronger straw and a better root development is required, but there seems to be at present no knowledge of the most efficient type of root-system for early, late or deep-water rices. No really detailed botanical

survey of the various varieties of rice has yet been made, though work of this description is not being neglected in India, as such papers as that of Mr. R. A. Beale[1] on the classification of the varieties of rice found in Burma and of Messrs. S. K. Mitra, S. N. Gupta and P. M. Ganguly[2] on colour inheritance in rice show. The extension of such work is essential, as among the wild rices, which in themselves are of no value, there may be certain useful characters which can be used in crossing with other forms. With a knowledge of desirable characters among these wild forms which are inherited, and of their root-development, improved hybrids might be produced which will respond to soil conditions.

And if these hybrids produce an increase even of ten per cent. on the annual yield, this would mean an addition of 3,500,000 tons to average annual output, and an enormously increased income varying with the current price of rice per ton. Hitherto attempts to produce good hybrids of rice in this country have not met with outstanding success, but the publication of occasional papers[3] shows that some attention is being paid to hybridisation as a means of improving our output of rice, and the benefits to the country, which increased profits from its rice crop would bring, should encourage us to further and more co-ordinated efforts at improvement.

With regard to sugar-cane, the standard of production in India is low as compared with other countries. The sugar yield, during the five years ending 1918-19, was only one ton per acre, while in Cuba it was two tons per acre, in Java over four, and in Hawaii over four and a half tons per acre. This crop is cultivated all over India, the total area being nearly two and three quarter million acres, but production and consumption do

[1] *Bulletin No. 167, Agricultural Research Institute*, Pusa, 1927.

[2] *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India*, XV, No. 4, 1928 (Botanical series).

[3] Such as those of R. K. Bhide on the results of crossing different varieties of rice at Karjat and of K. Ramiah on the technique for securing artificial hybrids of rice, published in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Volumes XX, 1925, p. 28, and XXII, 1927, p. 17. respectively.

not balance. India, which should be self-supporting in sugar, imports it to meet her demands, and to make up the shortage has to spend vast sums of money in the form of exports. During the years 1910-14, according to Dr. Howard, we imported sugar to the value of 12·71 crores of rupees from Java, Mauritius and Austria-Hungary. Rao Bahadur T. S Venkatraman has recently estimated [1] that at present 21-22 per cent. of our sugar consumption is imported, mostly from Java, at an average annual cost of about 15 crores of rupees.

In order that this money may stay in the country, the cane and juice must be increased on each acre and the cost of each ton of sugar grown must be reduced. This can only be done by planting more efficient types. A vigorous, rapidly-growing and quick-maturing cane, with a disease-resistance above the average, is required : the ratio of juice to cane should also be high, and its quality should allow for the easy manufacture of high-grade country sugar. In other words this means that good cross-bred varieties, suitable for particular localities, are required.

At Coimbatore, South India, experiments directed towards the discovery of such hybrids have been successfully carried out and several new varieties have been produced with *Saccharum spontaneum* L. as one of the parents. These new canes have been planted in parts of Northern India and elsewhere, and the results have been distinctly beneficial. In the paper already referred to Rao Bahadur Venkatraman said that 70,000 acres were under the improved Coimbatore canes, which give yields sometimes 100-160 per cent. superior to those of the indigenous natural varieties, and " a conservative estimate of the additional profit to growers has placed it at over 70 lakhs of rupees during the season just passed."

Further investigations are now in progress, and " Co. 290," a new cane produced at Coimbatore is now being widely distributed in the United Provinces the largest sugar-growing area in

[1] *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIII, 1928, p. 170.

the county where, in the opinion of the Director of Agriculture of that Province,[1] it will "materially assist in raising the standard of sugar production." The results already achieved, therefore, show that the solution of the sugar problem has really begun, though the area sown with these improved varieties is only about three per cent. of the possible area on which they can be planted. The value of this work will be even better appreciated when it is remembered that our sugar consumption must grow considerably in the near future, for at present the consumption per capita is only about one-fourth or one-fifth of what it is in other countries.

Much research work has been done here in connection with cotton, the steady increase of cotton products, since the last war being described by Mr. B. C. Burt as remarkable.[2] About 25,000,000 acres are under cultivation,[3] according to Dr. Howard, but the average yield is low, being about one maund of lint to the acre, which is only one-third of the average yield of the cotton areas of the United States of America. Owing to climatic conditions the growth period of the plant is short and consequently only a short staple is developed. If the yield per acre could be increased with a better fibre, the Indian cotton would be in as great a demand as the American species, as the evidence of the last few years shows.

Experiments in breeding pure lines have shown that, as a rule, long-stapled cottons possess a low ginning percentage, while a high ginning percentage is usually associated with a short staple. Cross-breeding between the two might, therefore, produce a long-stapled, high-ginning hybrid, and Mr. G. L.

[1] See T. S. Venkatraman: "Report of the Government Sugar Cane Expert." *Scientific Reports, Agricultural Research Institute*, Pusa, 1928, p. 137. It is also interesting to read in this report that Coimbatore canes are being successfully reared outside India, especially in Cuba and Florida. From Florida a recent communication to Rao Bahadur Venkatraman stated that, inspite of the rather difficult conditions of soil and climate "it looks now as if it (Co. 281) would be one of our best, if not our very best cane."

[2] *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXXII, 1927, p. 446.

[3] 18,186,000 acres according to the figures for 1925-26.

Kother of Bombay has spent several years in trying to obtain a successful hybrid of this sort. Seven years ago he published a a paper on[1] the history of a cross between *Gossypium herbaceum* and *G. neglectum* which appears to have the desired qualities, and two years later[2] he said that: "Two pure strains, one of Kumpta with a low ginning percentage (28) and a long-staple (1 inch) and another of *neglectum rosea* with a high ginning percentage (36) and a short staple ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch) were crossed with the idea of improving the ginning percentage and colour of Kumpta cotton. This cross has after careful selection continued for five years to yield pure strains which combine the desired characters of both the parents." He added that they were being sent out to replace Kumpta cotton.

Indian cottons cross easily—a circumstance which is particularly fortunate as several of them have a high ginning percentage—and other workers have also produced promising hybrids. In 1919-20 Messrs. M. L. and S. J. Patel began the crossing of pure types of the Broach-Deshi and Gohari varieties as *Gossypium herbaceum*, and two years ago they reported[3] that: "This crossing has not only led to types with the combination of characters desired, but has provided a considerable amount of interesting material relative to their behaviour in crossing..." In 1920, Kotter[4] crossed a pure strain of Dharwar-American with Sea-Island cotton and, in his own words, he found that "it is possible to produce in the first generation the same quantity of lint as Dharwar-American but of Sea-Island quality." Messrs. T. R. Khadliker and R. K. Kulkarni have continued this work and published the results in a recent paper[5] on the improvement of Dharwar-American cotton by hybridisation.

On the whole the rearing of successful cotton hybrids is, however, more difficult than in other crops, as the results of

1 *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India* (Botanical series), XII, 1923, p. 71.

2 *Agricultural Journal of India*, XX, iii, 1925.

Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India (Botanical series), XIV, No. 4, 1927.

Bulletin No. 189, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, 1929.

See, for example, B. C. Desai ; *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXII, 1927, p. 357.

Zaitzev and other workers have shown and, as Mr. Trevor Trought says in a paper [1] on the improvement of the cotton plant: "It is possibly significant that no commercial variety at present grown in any bulk has originated as a deliberate synthetic product by a plant breeder." It may be that artificial hybridisation *at present* does not "introduce any certainty of improvement along directed lines," but even Mr. Trought admits that hybridisation combined with selection "probably increases the chance of obtaining desirable combinations of characters." It is my belief, however, that it is to hybridisation and selection that we must look for radical improvements in the present situation, for the demand is for long-stapled cottons with the maximum ginning percentage and three-fourths of the cotton grown in this country is short-stapled. And once we can isolate strains of guaranteed purity there is no reason why hybrids of real commercial value should not be raised. The experience of to-day should lead to the successes of to-morrow.

Some idea of the extent to which the country would benefit by the improvement of the cotton crop may be formed by the fact that Dr. D. Clouston, late Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, estimated [2] in 1924 that 'the area now being sown in India every year with improved varieties probably exceeds 2,000,000 acres, and the increased profits therefrom, calculated on the basis of an increase of Rs. 10 per acre, must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of two crores of rupees annually." As the total area under cotton at present is something like 20,000,000 acres, the universal sowing of "improved (by which Dr. Clouston seems to mean mostly selected) varieties alone would result in an increased profit of about twenty crores of rupees, which can be considerably enhanced by the introduction of good hybrids. The future benefits to the country from the improvement of its cotton will be even better appreciated when it is remembered that, according to acknowledged experts,

[1] *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXI, 1926, p. 310 *et seq* (with bibliography).
[2] *Agricultural Journal of India*, XIX, 1924, p. 167.

it is to India that the world will shortly have to look for relief from cotton shortage. The hybrids already produced by Mr. Kottur and his colleagues seem to show that it will not look in vain.

In a short essay, these examples must suffice to show the value of hybridisation in the improvement of our crops. Indeed it would seem almost superfluous to support with examples the indisputable value of hybridisation, for nearly all agri-botanical research of fundamental value is now directed towards the improvement of crops by selection and hybridisation. The last report of the Imperial Economic Botanist, Mr. F. J. Shaw, shows that hybridisation experiments on most of the crops discussed were conducted or contemplated.[1] For example, some very encouraging hybrids of oats were obtained by crossing the Scotch Potato oat and two Pusa selections, and, according to Mr. Shaw,[2] " The good grain and strand quality together with the heavy tillering power of imported varieties have been combined with the earliness and disease-resistance of the Indian parent, and when some of the types are fixed, a very great improvement in oats for Indian soils and climates will be achieved. With tobacco also—on which a great deal of basic research has been published—promising hybridisation experiments are proceeding.

Before concluding, therefore, I need only reiterate that the vital improvements which can be effected by selection and hybridisation would result in the gain of several crores of rupees (Dr. Clouston says " hundreds of crores " through the substitution of " improved " strains alone), even if those improvements be restricted to the rice, wheat, sugar-cane, cotton, jute and millet crops—the principal crops of the country. Already the monetary gain to India from the planting of selected and hybrid varieties is estimated at nearly eleven crores of rupees per annum.

1 See, for example Shaw and Khan's study of the types of *Capsicum* and of the Lentil by Bose and himself, published in *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India* (Botanical series), XVI, 1928, Nos. 2 and 6 respectively.

2 *Scientific Reports, Agricultural Research Institute*, Pusa, 1928, pp. 9-29.

And increased prosperity will result in improvements along other directions. Our minor crops will be more thoroughly investigated and cultivated; our cattle improved; our fisheries developed, our industries expanded. But pure research must not be overlooked, for it is on the theories postulated by pure research workers, most of whom are not directly concerned with the economic application of their work, that agriculture and the other applied sciences depend. We are too apt to look only for "practical" and more or less immediate results, and it would be well for us to appreciate the deep significance of Mrs. Howard's warning in her speech at the last Science Congress: "As the years pass (she said) it will be increasingly difficult to maintain the economic work at its present level unless it is stabilised by a school of pure research in the country itself."

Given this appreciation of both pure and applied science, the prospect before us is bright indeed. For, the potential resources of this country are probably second to none, and the labour is here to help in their exploitation. Exploit them properly and it will not be long before India takes her rightful place among the most prosperous nations of the world.

(*Acknowledgments.* I am indebted to my husband, Mr. Cedric Dover for suggesting this subject to me, and for helping me with the literature. Many papers were consulted, but in view of Dr. Howard's splendid work on *Crop Production in India* it was inevitable that it should form basis of this essay. M.H.W.)

MERCIA HEYNES-WOOD

CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL FINANCES

Some Problems discussed.

In view of the Round Table Conference and the impending constitutional changes and also in view of the fact that those changes depend for their successful working upon a satisfactory and equitable re-adjustment of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments, it is necessary that an examination of the salient and outstanding problems of Indian public finances should be undertaken at this juncture. In such an examination, it is but fitting that the financial proposals of Sir W. Layton, Financial Assessor to the Simon Commission, should be taken into consideration; for not only is Sir Layton a financial expert of no mean repute but he has also brought to bear upon his task in connection with the reorganization of Indian finances a sympathetic outlook and a broad-minded vision. In the first place he had started on the fundamental assumption that India would have a Federal constitution and he has adjusted all his recommendations in such a way that they fit in with the requirements of that form of constitution. There is an unanimous expression of opinion in the country in favour of the assumption that India should have a constitution based on the Federal plan; and it is a thing to be commended in Sir W. Layton that he was able to appreciate this factor about the political evolution of the country. And secondly, proceeding from this basic assumption, he has arrived at the conclusion, with which every one will naturally agree, that in a Federal constitution, the Provinces or the Federating units will have administrative and financial autonomy, that the Central or the Federal Government shall possess only an irreducible minimum of intervening authority in the affairs of the former, and that, so far as the financial relations between the two units of government are concerned, there must be as definite and clear-cut a

demarkation of financial resources and the imposition of corresponding financial obligation upon them, as it is possible to have.

Implications of Provincial Autonomy.

The principle of Provincial autonomy such as the one which is to be introduced into the framework of the future Indian constitution presumes the grant of entire freedom to the provinces to legislate on matters and subjects assigned to them specifically under the constitutional instrument and to raise taxation, on their own initiative, in order to defray their financial requirements. The functions which will be entrusted to the provinces in the constitution will be, from the point of view of past experience and future indications, such that they will prove highly beneficial for the purpose of advancing the material and moral well-being of the mass of the community ; and the consequence of this phenomenon of Provincial autonomy and the division of subjects between the Provincial and the Federal Governments is and will be the limitation to a very considerable extent of the scope and the number of functions which the latter Government would be called upon to undertake responsibility for. And, with such a curtailment in its functions, the need for assigning to the Central Government too many of the elastic sources of revenue like the Customs, Income Tax and others loses its *raison de être* and will become a matter for consideration with a view to their transference to other hands where they are more urgently required. It will at the same time become necessary that the Provinces with several spending departments under them should be placed in possession of resources which will be capable of automatic expansion and of yielding an elastic income. The main principle to be borne in mind in regard to this matter therefore is the well-known and highly equitable one—that the biggest share of the public revenues should be utilized towards the maintenance and furtherance of those services

which go to build up the strength of the nation and advance the welfare of the community as a whole and that expenditure on the Army, the Navy and other departments, the potentialities for injurious effects of which are of comparatively greater volume than the benefits which they of course undoubtedly secure, should be on a scale which is the minimum possible consistent with the requirements of national security. If Indian public expenditure during the last one decade is to be judged from this standpoint it will have to be admitted that the principle adumbrated above has not been kept sufficiently well in mind by the designers of the Indian financial machinery. For while the central Government has been given such elastic sources of revenue as Customs Income-Tax, and the Railways, the Provincial Governments, which have to perform important social services like Education, Public Health, Sanitation, etc., have been entrusted with sources of revenue, which, on account of their inelastic and stationary character, had landed the provinces in great financial straits in the first three years of the post-Reform era and blocked the undertaking and pursuit of all progressive measures by the Provincial ministers.

Evils of "Contributions" and "Doles."

The system of financial distribution between the centre and the provinces as a result of the Meston settlement introducing the novel principle of the Provinces paying contributions to the Central Government must be deemed an exiguous and indefeasible one, producing as it did the two deleterious consequences, firstly, of encumbering the agricultural provinces like Madras, which have necessarily enough to incur considerable expenditure for the improvement of their agricultural population, with an unbearable burden, and secondly, of reducing the industrial provinces like Bombay to a position of financial helplessness owing to their being deprived of the much needed resources for their internal development supplemented by a loss

of income due to the assignment of Income-Tax to the Central Government. It was however fortunate that the system was abandoned by Sir Basil Blackett shortly before he vacated the office of Finance Member of the Government of India, and let us hope that it had been abandoned for good. Equally exiguous and unprincipled are the systems of the Central Government's paying "doles" to the Provincial Governments and of the "divided heads" which were in vogue at different periods in the pre-Reform era. For, for one thing, any financial arrangement in which one unit of government is made to depend upon another for financial support induces a sense of superciliousness and an attitude of fault-finding on the part of the payer and a feeling of subservience and parsimoniousness in incurring expenditure on essentials on the part of the receiver. For another, it will lead, as it has actually led in the past, to the cultivation and development of a feeling of unedifying interprovincial jealousy and wrangling, which, in the peculiar necessities of the Indian situation to-day, would be prejudicial to the growth of a spirit of national harmony and solidarity, so necessary for the successful working of any scheme of Federation. In any scheme of financial readjustment that may be evolved as a result of the constitutional discussions now proceeding, these two unsound formulae will have to be avoided as far as practicable, and a clear definite enunciation of the different heads that should constitute the sources of revenues for the Central and Provincial Governments should be attempted. Hereafter, therefore, the Central and Federal Government will have to deny itself the privilege of holding in its hands all revenue surpluses and of possessing at the same time, unlimited powers of borrowing; and freedom should be given to the Provinces to develop their financial resources to the full extent of their possibilities and they should have autonomous powers in regard to raising of revenues and spending them and to borrow on their own initiative. The grip which the Central Government and the Secretary of State now possesses over provincial revenues is in reality a

tight one, notwithstanding the separation that had been effected and specially so in view of the fact that Finance is a reserved subject; and this control will have to be completely relaxed, finance should be placed in the hands of a responsible Minister who should take the Legislature into his confidence in every scheme that he proposes and finally the surplus funds lying unproductively in the Central Exchequer should be made available for provincial purposes of a beneficial character by being placed in charge of an independent financial tribunal to be distributed by it to the various provinces on certain well-defined principles.

The Provincial Fund.

There is, however, something savouring of the discredited system of doles from the Central Government in the proposal put forward by Sir Walter Layton that a Provincial Fund should be instituted out of the proceeds of certain indirect taxes to be collected by the Federal or Central Government and to be distributed by it amongst the various Provinces on a *per capita* basis. The arrangement prescribed has been described by him as an essentially Federal ideal calculated to strengthen the bond that is to bind the two branches of Government—the centre and the constituent provinces—together and to keep intact the control of the Central Government in regard to provincial affairs, whenever and wherever such control is needed in the interests of the whole Federation and consistently with the constitutional provisions. It will help also to keep constantly before the Provinces the vision of the Central Government as the embodiment of the principle of common nationality and commonness of ideals and interests, which animate the various provinces that integrate themselves into the Federation. As such there is perhaps a good deal to recommend it in the scheme as expounded by Sir W. Layton; but there is scope for entertaining the apprehension that in the practical working of it there may crop up difficulties and defects resulting in an unequal distribution

of the Fund amongst the different provincial units. For example, an industrially progressive and advanced province like Bombay with a big population will be in a far more favourable position and will receive a far bigger proportion of the fund than an agricultural province like Madras or a backward and comparatively undeveloped province like Bihar and Orissa, the financial position of which cannot at any time be said to be adequate or satisfactory. Again, a province like Bengal with a dense population and which further precluded from developing its revenue resources to the full extent of its capacity owing to the existence therein of a peculiar, out-of-date, and antiquated system of revenue settlement, will be in a position much better off than a province like the Punjab or Madras with an impoverished agricultural population already taxed to its maximum capacity.

The Provincial Fund may be characterised as the crux of the financial proposals of Sir Walter Layton, whose concern for placing the Provincial Governments in possession of funds necessary for development programmes to be put into operation by them is so genuine and undisguised, that he felt himself called upon to recommend that not only should expanding sources of revenue be placed under the control of the Provincial Governments but that they should be further benefited by being participants in the proceeds of the Provincial Fund, which is to be fed by indirect taxes like an excise duty on matches and cigarettes, the terminal tax and also the salt tax, if it is found necessary, and which is to be used exclusively for Provincial purposes though collected by the Central Government. The taxes recommended may not all be either very productive or justified from the point of view of the ability of the people to bear them ; but since they are to be spent exclusively for provincial developmental and native building purposes, since they are to be spent only on the recommendation of the representatives of the Provincial Legislatures, and since the Government of India are not to have any initiative or discretion

in the matter of apportioning it, it may be said that the objection on these scores will not have much force. It is also to be provided that all surpluses accumulating with the Federal or Central Government hereafter as a result of economies in central expenditure or expansion of revenue should be thrown into the Fund, so as to be available for nation-building services.

Defects and Remedies.

The idea of a Provincial Fund is undoubtedly an original one and intended to obviate the drawbacks incidental to the system of doles on the one hand and the system of Provincial contributions on the other ; for which the procedure suggested for its administration reduces the necessity for the intervention of the Government of India to the barest minimum, the method suggested for its distribution according to a *per capita* basis may be considered a compromise between the two principles, distribution according to population and needs, and as obviating an attitude of jealousy and constant wrangling between Province and Province. One fundamental point will have to be remembered in this connection and that is that when Sir W. Layton made his proposal for the Provincial Fund, he was relying absolutely upon the constitutional recommendations of the Simon Commission and considered their scheme of the Central Legislature indirectly elected and of an irresponsible Central Executive as being sacrosanct. But events in the constitutional world have moved fast since the Commission made its Report and it is now generally admitted that partly at least the Lower House of the Central Legislature should be wholly elected, secondly that central responsibility should be a fundamental feature of the constitution and thirdly that Federation, which was only a distant visionary ideal for the Simon Commission, should be the form which the constitution should take. As such the procedure prescribed for the distribution of the Fund cannot be accounted final but is subject to modification in the light of the constitutional changes that will emerge as a result of the deliberations of the Round

Table Conference. And in so far as these changes are most likely to be of the nature outlined just before and also in view of the consideration that full and undiluted provincial autonomy will also be a most probable part of those changes it has to be stated that the fund should be distributed in accordance with the decisions of a body fully representative of the various interests concerned and that the Finance Minister of the Federal Government should be the presiding officer over that body. The main principles of distribution may be settled by the Federal Legislature, because if the Native States also come into the Federation, as very certainly they will, their interests also will have to be safeguarded, which can be achieved if the Central Legislature has a voice. It may also be provided if necessary that the proposals adopted by the Inter-Provincial Provincial Fund Commission, as the body which is concerned with the administration of the Fund may be designated, should be submitted to a joint sitting of the Houses of the Legislature for approval. There can be no danger of that body coming into conflict with the commission referred to, because as much as the latter, and perhaps to a greater extent than the latter, the former also will be composed of representatives of the Provinces as political units and as population divisions, they being represented in the former capacity in the Upper House of the Legislature and in the latter capacity in the Lower House.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee postulated in the course of its Report that it is not possible to discover an ideal system for the division of the tax resources between the Central and the Provincial Governments, but it had, at the same time, pointed out that "a system of separation of resources is decidedly the best, if a scheme can be discovered under which the allotment of certain resources to the Imperial and certain others to the State Governments, gives each a revenue adequate to its needs and at the same time effects a fair division between the States." The award of the Financial Relations Committee, which constitutes the basis for the present distribution of Central and

Provincial revenues, had not worked satisfactorily in actual practice, because, firstly, it placed almost every expendable and expanding source of revenue in the hands of the Central Government, while it entrusted to the Provincial Governments all stationary sources of income, secondly, it benefited the agricultural provinces at the expense of the industrial provinces and thirdly, it attempted to affect a financial 'clear-cut,' which was in contradiction to the course of development of the Indian financial relations in vogue till then judged on its own merits; also the scheme pressed heavily even on agricultural provinces, which had to undertake several ameliorative schemes for the benefits of their agricultural population, but had been forced to hold their hand, because of their inability to realise the anticipated accentuation in their revenues on account of the already existing heavy encumbrances on the cultivators, who had further to experience a series of bad seasons.

The Indian Central Committee also recommended a division of financial resources between the two spheres of Government as an essential *sine quâ non* of the constitutional evolution of the country along Federal lines; and the principle had been accepted by Mr. Layton himself as being absolutely sound in theory. There are, however, practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of a policy of absolute 'clear-cut' in view of the varying sizes of the provinces, their varying needs and the different problems all of which render such a policy more a hindrance and obstruction than an aid and a source of strength to the Provinces. The disproportionate and an equal degree of development of the Provinces, their differing agricultural and industrial need, some provinces being mainly agricultural and others mainly industrial, their diverse necessities—there are all hard facts, which make for the interference of the Central Government to maintain the balance and adjust the inequalities. The only practicable proposition under the circumstances is to devise a means whereby the Central Government's interference in Provincial affairs can be conveniently reduced to a minimum and whereby the

surpluses accruing to the credit of that Government may be diverted to provincial purposes. For this purpose, the scheme of a Provincial Fund, discussed above, is best suited and, as stated already, full approval should be accorded to the principle underlying it.

Central Government's Sources of Revenue: the Railways.

It may now be appropriate to consider what heads of revenue will be enough to meet the requirements of the Central Government and what heads can with profit and advantage be transferred to the Provincial Governments. By far one of the most important sources of revenue for the Central Government is its control over the means of communication and transport—which control bids fair to be all-embracing in course of time in view of the policy of the state-ownership of Railways now being vigorously followed by the Government of India. The Indian Railways even under the present conditions of partial transference to state management have been able to bring in a steadily increasing contribution to the Indian Exchequer, rising as it did from 1·22 crores in 1922-23 to 6·44 crores in 1923-24 in which year the separation between Railways and General budgets was effected and it had remained steady ever since. There is infinite and ever-increasing scope for the Railways to expand both intensively and extensively, and with every extension in their mileage and with every fresh transfer of lines from company to state management, there will be an increase in the income to be got from them and a corresponding increment in the contribution to be made by them to the general revenues. The Railways will have, however, to take up in right earnest the work of the improvement of third class passengers and of reducing the rates and freight charges and a substantial proportion of their increased earnings will have no doubt to be utilized by them for bringing about the very urgent and necessary reforms in both those matters. But it is permissible to observe that, even after

incurring the expenditure on and satisfying the demands referred to, the Railways, if effectively and carefully managed, will be able to bring in a contribution of considerable size to the general exchequer. Sir F. Layton does not lay much store by this head of revenue, but his apprehensions about its unproductivity, will, it is to be hoped, be falsified by future events.

The Customs Revenue.

The second important source of revenue to the Central Government is the customs duties, the authority for levying which places in the hands of that Government a financial weapon, the potentialities for widening and expanding the scope of which is almost limitless, provided the Government of India follows a strictly national policy in regard to the protection of infant indigenous industries and ceases to entertain a tender conscience for sentimental shibboleths like Empire Preference and Empire Free Trade. A policy calculated to strengthen the position of Indian industries combined with a policy of securing as large an amount of revenue as possible by the taxation of import of foreign articles of consumption and the simultaneous development of a home market by taking vigorous steps to improve the purchasing power of the masses, will go a long way towards serving the double object of increasing the revenue from customs as well as improving the economic condition of the country as a whole. As Sir Walter Layton points out, India has to look forward to the customs duties as mean for securing a larger and increased income to meet the expanding expenditure on nation-building services and that in fact "the key to the situation" is clearly to be found in them alone. According to Mr. Layton's estimate, the customs revenue will expand at the rate of 3·4 crore a year ; and this, together with the economies in the military department and other reforms that are indicated below, will be sufficient not only to balance the Central Government's budget but also leave in its hands a substantial surplus to be allocated to the Provincial Fund for distribution amongst the

Provinces. But this anticipated increase in the revenue from customs is, of course, dependent upon a number of extraneous factors like good monsoons, the peaceful settlement of India's political troubles, the much-wished for reduction in military expenditure and the expansion of foreign trade; and any circumstance which interferes with this progressive increase will impede the growth and result in a set back. However, the phenomenal growth of the foreign trade of India which rose from Rs. 120 crores in 1923-24 to Rs. 190 crores in 1928-29 and, along with it, the corresponding growth of the customs revenue from 39·70 crores in 1923-24 to 53·14 crores in 1930-31, or on the basis of fixation in the previous year to 49·30 crores, gives encouragement to the optimistic forecast that, given normal conditions, it will expand at the pace above-mentioned.

Income Tax.

The Income Tax is a source of revenue to the Central Government which has not been sufficiently tapped till now, but which, if handled carefully, is capable of yielding considerably larger income than it does at present. This form of tax is the backbone of all financial systems of the modern times in Western countries and it is so because, first, it is a direct tax and all direct taxes are recommended as suitable from all points of view by financial theorists; secondly, it is a tax which lends itself to the introduction into it of an element of progression and progression results in a proper adjustment of the burden of the tax, so that the share of his income which each individual has to render to the state is in proportion to his ability; and thirdly, it has been universally acknowledged as a tax which can best minimize the inequalities inherent in the present system of the distribution of economic power and wealth amongst the different classes of people. In spite of the many favourable points it possesses in order to recommend it to the attention of Finance Ministers, it is sad to note, as Sir Walter Layton did in his Report, that the principal features of the Indian financial system are the small

yield from Income Tax and the total absence of wealth duties, which are merely an offshoot of the Income Tax along with the Super Tax and the Succession duties; and he considers that this latter along with the low rates of Income Tax and the high exemption limits of taxable minimum, are responsible for the almost stationary nature of the revenue from this source. It is a tax which, if it is to play its part in the financial system of British India, should be adjusted so as to depend upon the ability of individuals to pay, which means, in Sir W. Layton's words, that "as large a proportion of the additional burden as possible should be placed upon the richer classes by means of direct taxation." The necessary reforms in this connection are (1) the lowering of the exemption limit which at present stands at Rs. 2,000 for Income Tax and Rs. 50,000 for Super Tax, (2) the steepening of the progression of the rate of Income Tax for incomes between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1,00,000, and (3) the inclusion with the schedule taxable of incomes the income earned by foreigners in India and the income earned by people living in this country from investments abroad. If, in addition to this, some more effective control than at present is introduced in the collection of the tax so that evasion is reduced to a minimum, the yield from this source will certainly show a considerable increase.

While on the question of Income Tax, it is essential to take into consideration one point of importance on the side of the administration of the Income Tax, *i.e.*, whether the tax should be a Central or a Provincial source of revenue or whether it should be a divided head. From the point of view of convenience of collection and uniformity in the rates of taxation, there is everything to recommend it as a central head of revenue; but the peculiar circumstances of the Indian situation are such that under an arrangement such as this, some industrially advanced provinces like Bengal and Bombay, which cannot expect to secure an increased income from agricultural sources and whose principal salvation consists in being able to

tax the industrial income, will be hard hit. It is, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme whereby while the industrial provinces are enabled to secure their due share of the revenue from taxation of incomes within their borders, the central Government is not denuded of the funds necessary for it for balancing its budgets. There are obvious difficulties in the way of a total transfer of Income Tax to the Provinces and equally obvious advantages in allowing it a central head of revenue, at least so far as the work of collection is concerned, for even if there is justice and equity in that province enjoying the proceeds of the tax collected within its own borders, practical considerations necessitate the imposition and allocation of the tax-revenue to the Central Government. The Taxation Enquiry Committee recommended the total transfer of Income Tax proceeds to the Provinces; but Sir W. Layton has proposed a plan which, in essence, will amount to a compromise between the two extreme viewpoints and ought to be acceptable to the parties concerned. His proposal is to assign to the Provinces one half of the proceeds of the Income Tax paid by residents of a province on all incomes wherever earned together with an additional compensation in the shape of giving them a right of levying a surcharge on the income tax collected on the incomes of residents within the province. This method of distribution serves a three-fold purpose: it gives the industrial provinces a share of the proceeds of taxation on industrial incomes; it enables the agricultural provinces to adjust the inequalities on taxation between urban and rural areas; and it places in the hands of the Central Government adequate funds to adjust its income and expenditure during the transition period. It is estimated that the provinces will be benefited to the extent of Rs. 4½ crores by this arrangement, and, if the reforms referred to above are brought into effect, the benefit to them will be still larger. Sir W. Layton has set his face against the division of the proceeds of the super tax at present, but has recommended the change to take effect ten years hence,

by which time, the Central Government would have finally attained a position of stability. If, however, the income from the super tax are also to be distributed, the benefit to the provinces will be further enhanced, while at the same time, it may be noted that the administrative difficulties noticed in the case of Income Tax are not equally potent so far as the super tax is concerned—a factor which renders its transfer easier of achievement.

Other Central Sources of Revenue.

Commercial Stamps.—A further source of Revenue which Sir W. Layton would place in the hands of the Central Government is commercial stamps as distinct from general stamps. Both from the administrative and the financial standpoints, such a change is justified : for, so far as the first is concerned, the growing importance and volume of commercial transactions on an all-India basis make it imperative that uniformity should be maintained in the fees levied for commercial contracts affecting various provinces and so far as the second is concerned, the sacrifice, which the Government of India has been called upon to make, when it accepted the international convention to restrict the import and consumption of opium to a minimum and to strictly medicinal purposes and consequently agreed to a gradual elimination of revenue from that source, will have to be made good, for which purpose the separation of commercial from general stamps and the transfer of the former to the Central Government is best suited.

Salt Tax.—Sir Walter Layton has not recommended the abolition of the Salt Tax, which had been made the object of attack by Gandhiji in his latest Satyagraha Campaign ; but while proposing its continuance, he has recommended the throwing in of its proceeds into the Provincial Fund, some time hence, when the finance of the Central Government permit of such a change. It is true that, in a discussion of financial questions, the main point of consideration should be finance

alone and not sentiment; and, from the strict financial point of view, it may not be possible to abolish the Salt Tax, which has been bringing in a revenue of Rs. 7 crores annually to the central exchequer, altogether. But it must be possible for the rate of the tax to be reduced to 8 annas a maund, to continue it at that rate for a fixed period of time before which the Government should effect the necessary economies in other directions, and after that, to abolish it altogether, with liberty to revive it whenever any emergency arises.

Profits of the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves.—The Central Government can also desire a substantial income from another source, *i.e.*, the transfer of the Paper Currency and Gold standard revenues from London to India and the investment of their funds in Government Securities—a measure, which according to Prof. K. T. Shah's estimate (*vide* "Sixty Years of Indian Finance by Prof. K. T. Shah) will yield a total annual income of between Rs. 4 to 5 crores. This transfer involves, of course, certain charges on the constitutional side; it necessitates the reduction of the Secretary of State for India's control of and superintendence over, Indian finances, the abolition of his right to invest the moneys in British securities and the divesting of his responsibility as well as the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain and 'manipulate' the exchange value of the Rupee. It also necessitates the establishment of a Central Reserve Bank for India, which will take up the work of keeping the Government's balances and managing the Indian Currency. Though, from his strict adherence to the constitutional scheme recommended by the Simon Commission and from the fact of his basing all his proposals to suit that scheme, Sir Walter Layton could not propose this change nor discuss the proposal on its merits, still it is a very highly desirable and useful one in view of the benefits it is capable of conferring from the larger national standpoint.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

THE LONG ROAD

The long road lures me to its listless length,
No more with my books can I idly sit;
It calls me with irresistible strength
To its far-off end dim with shadowed sweet.

I stand by the wayside and look before
With half-shut eyes and forward slowly wend,
And trudge,—the vistas glimmer more and more,—
The unknown calls me from its other end.

The unknown calls me from its other end;
I know not what dwells in that far-off land—
Death, Hope, Beauty, Cherub, or what sweet friend,
I know not,—but 'tis some mysterious hand.

I trudge and trudge; now pause in pensive dream,
Some full-blown music on my ears doth roll;
And then forward move to its distance dim,
And towards its glory-glimmering goal.

I onward move and find me quite estranged
From all that's worldly and its thousand ties;
My mind is now to melancholy changed,
And finds the road in slumbrous stillness lies.

I love the lonely—the loneliest road,
The long long road leaning to the far-off west
Winding through tree-fringed fields with harvest's load,
Stepping down the hill in some treasure's quest.

I trudge and trudge and trudge the whole day long,
I hear all round some accents clearly sweet
Of a wild crowd, of some invisible throng;—
I hear the pattering of unseen feet.

I hear the pattering of tireless feet
On the long lone road running on and on,—
They beckon—those footsteps feverish fleet,
As stars beckon the stars when night is done.

With half-shut dreamy eyes I walk alone,
The clouds trail by on shifting snow-white sails;
The cool light mellows, and the low winds moan,
And wild winds whisper weird and woeful tales.

I love the road: I love its strong fresh breeze,
Its shining summer light, and night-wind's gust,
Its moonbeams, and the dark luxuriant trees,
Its silence, and its yellow mica dust.

How sweet with wind-fanned footsteps tired yet strong
On this lonely road thus ever to roam;
To wearied hearts like some dolorous song
It gives some idea of my distant Home.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

KISSORY CHAND MITTRA[1]

Kissory Chand Mittra, the fifth and youngest son of Babu Ram Narain Mittra, was born on the 26th. May, 1822, at the ancestral house in Calcutta, No. 20 Nimtala Ghat Street. In his boyhood he was placed under a *guru mohasaya* in the *pathsala* of his house and, in accordance with the prevailing custom, he was for sometimes placed in charge of a *Munshi* for a knowledge of *Urdu* which was then the Court language of Bengal. At about this period there was a free English School at Babu Ram Narain's house conducted by his fourth son, Babu Pearychand, then an advanced student of the Hindoo College.[2] Kissory Chand learnt the elements of English in this school; and as personages like David Hare, H. L. V. Derozio and other European and Indian promoters of education at times called at the school to inspect it, he was brought to their notice and Mr. Hare pressed the father to send the lad to his *own* school, Calcutta School Society's English School. Macaulay's famous Minutes promulgated at about that time (7th. March, 1835) gave a great impetus to English education. David Hare was highly satisfied with young Kissory Chand and promoted him to the Hindoo College where he made such a rapid progress that he soon surpassed his seniors and distinguished himself by winning several valuable prizes every year. At one of the Annual Examinations held at the Government House, Kissory Chand's essay was read

[1] I owe much to the co-operation and indefatigable industry of Babu Sukhendralal Mittra, a worthy relative of the late Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, who has assisted me in writing the present paper and also the one on the late Babu Peary Chand Mittra which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* before. Babu Kissory Chand, like his talented brother, Babu Peary Chand, was a lavish, willing and powerful contributor to the *Calcutta Review* to the hospitality of whose columns I am indebted for placing before the latter-day public a short story of his life.

[2] In a paper called *Education in Bengal* Babu Peary Chand wrote thus :—"One of the effects of the English education was the awakening of a desire on the parts of the students (of the Hindoo College) to establish free schools for poor students. Saroda Prosad Bose and I had morning schools at our houses."

by the Right Reverend Doctor Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. On another occasion, at the Prize Distribution of the College, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, awarded him the first prize. We quote the following extract from a newspaper of the day :—" One of the boys of the First Class (Kissory Chand Mittra) was then called upon to read an essay entitled,—*Travels and enterprises considered with regard to Hindoos*,—which he had been summoned to compose at a time when he was perfectly unprepared for it, and no assistance had been afforded to him from books, etc. He wrote it in the presence of Doctor (T. A.) Wise, the Secretary (to the General Committee of Public Instruction). It was a very creditable production and we are happy to see the infamous system of the Dharma Sabha touched upon. It was styled a diabolical system, the suppression of which reflected great credit on those who had done so. The same young man had answered in writing several questions from Grecian, English, Indian and Scotch histories. They also reflected great credit to the student. Lord Auckland awarded him the first prize which consisted of some dozen of books of great value."

In the Report of the Council of Education for 1842, we find the following under the heading of the *Report of the Annual Examinations* :—

" The order assigned to the boys of the First Class for knowledge obtained from reading the Library-books was as follows :—

(1) Gopal Kissen Ghose.
(2) Bholanath Chandra.
(3) Mohes Chandra Dutta.
(4) Bissu Nath Sing.
(5) Sevoo Persad Ghose.
(6) Kissen Chandra Mittra.
(7) Joy Gopal Set.
(8) Madhub Chandra Ghose.
(9) Kally Kissen Mittra."

It is difficult to say if the name of the sixth student is a misprint for Kissory Chand's name, because, in the Library-class of the Hindoo College, students used to read even for three or four years to acquire a knowledge of literature.

The names of two teachers of the Hindoo College will be ever associated in its annals ; one a young Eurasian, Henry Lowis Vivian Derozio, and the other Captain David Lester Richardson. Derozio died when Kissory Chand was young, but he read under D. L. R., and had a high regard for both of them throughout his life.

In 1830 Rev. Alexander Duff came to Calcutta to found a college in Bengal to be conducted on thoroughly Christian principles. He founded the General Assembly's Institution in that year and in 1844 the Free Church Institution. Kissory Chand found a powerful friend and patron in Doctor Duff and used to call on him regularly to read English Classics under him. When the Free Church Institution was opened he taught the boys of the Institution gratuitously for several months. Kissory Chand was also at about this time connected with another educational institution. There was a school at Simla, Calcutta, patronised by Sir Edward Ryan. He used to take a leading part in its management and also to instruct the boys.

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was formed in March, 1838, with David Hare as Honorary Visitor, Babu Tarachand Chuckerbutty as President and Babus Ramtonu Lahiri and Peary Chand Mittra as Honorary Secretaries. Kissory Chand used to take an active part in it. Of his addresses on *Truth* and on the *Present condition and future prospects of the educated Natives*, delivered while an advanced student of the Hindoo College, the Society in its Report remarked "that they exhibit much talent."

After the death of David Hare a public "testimonial" meeting was held on the 17th. June, 1842, on which occasion Kissory Chand, in moving a resolution, delivered a speech. This was perhaps his debut.

The Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society was inaugurated on the 10th. February, 1843, for the promotion of the moral and religious status of the Bengalis. At the inaugural meeting Kissory Chand delivered a speech. The Society published a volume of its discourses in 1844, which contained, among others, papers read by Kissory Chand. In the *Return of the names and writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali literature* written by the Reverend James Long we find the following :—

(Author) Kissory Chand Mittra, Magistrate of Calcutta. (Books)—(1) *Discourses of God's wisdom, power and goodness* and (2) *The Hymns of Raja Rammohun Roy edited with a preface.* The first paper was read at a meeting of the Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society and both the papers were perhaps among the tracts which the Society issued at times. It is to be regretted that besides these Kissory Chand did not attempt to write any more in the Bengali language; but he had always the object at heart.

When the Bengal British India Society was formed in April, 1843, Kissory Chand was one of its active Members. From the proceedings of meetings which appeared in the newspapers, we find Kissory Chand joining in the discussions that followed the lectures. Of these we gather the following :—

4th. May, 1843—Constitution of the Society,
4th. April, 1844—Dram drinking.
22nd. January, 1845—Female education.
18th. February, 1845—Polygamy.

On the 18th. April, 1843, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall to present an address to Mr. James Sullivan expressing the gratitude of the Indians for his advocating, at the Court of Proprietors' Meeting, the substitution of the Indian for European agency in the civil administration of the country. Kissory Chand, in seconding a resolution, delivered a speech.

At the first anniversary of the death of David Hare, at the instance of Kissory Chand, a meeting was held at his ancestral

house on the 1st. June, 1843, and a Committee was formed with Kissory Chand as its Secretary to arrange for holding such meetings annually. At the next meeting held on 1st. June, 1844, a fund—Hare Prize Fund—was started to grant "premiums" for best essays in the Bengali language to be chosen by the Board of Trustees of which Kissory Chand was nominated the Secretary.

The students of the Hindoo College conducted two periodicals,—*Gnananeshan* (search after knowledge) from 18th. June, 1831 to January, 1840 and the *Bengal Spectator* from April, 1842 to 20th. November, 1843. Kissory Chand was a regular contributor to both the papers.

A public meeting was held on the 25th. November, 1844, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lord Hardinge for his "passing" Minutes of 10th. October, 1844. In seconding a resolution Kissory Chand delivered a speech.

Kissory Chand, at about this time, began to accompany Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, an intimate friend of his brother, Babu Peary Chand, transferred to Alipur in 1844, as Principal Sudder Amin, to acquire an insight into the judicial administration of Courts. He also connected himself with the "Bengal Hurkaru" as one of its paid contributors.

Having a literary turn of mind he wrote an article on Raja Rammohun Roy in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1845). The leading newspapers of the day, *e.g.*, the *Friend of India, the Bengal Hurkaru*, etc., reviewed it favourably.

While Kissory Chand was thus engaged Mr. Henry Torrens, the Vice-President and Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society, requested Babu Peary Chand to recommend a competent person for the post of Librarian and Assistant Secretary to the Society which would shortly be created. Babu Peary Chand recommended his brother who was accordingly appointed in March, 1846.

The article—Rammohun Roy—the first biography in the English language written by his countryman was so well written

that its perusal powerfully impressed the mind of Mr. F. J. Halliday (afterwards Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal), then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, who sent for Kissory Chand's no-less renowned brother, Babu Peary Chand, and offered through him a post of Deputy Magistrate, an appointment which in those days was not so plentiful as now-a-days and which carried an initial pay of Rs. 350 per month—an emolument almost equal to that of a Covenanted Member of the Civil Service on his first entrance into official life. He joined the service at Rampur Boalia in Rajshahi, on the 1st. April, 1846. *The Bengal Hurkaru* wrote thus:—"We are glad to hear that Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, the Sub-Librarian of the Asiatic Society, has been appointed a Deputy Magistrate in Rajshahi. The Baboo is a zemindar and a man of some property and has, it is said, been induced to accept the situation from other than pecuniary consideration."

The Committee of the Asiatic Society granted him leave of absence and after his resignation Babu Rajendra Lall Mitter (afterwards Raja Rajendralala Mitra) was appointed to the post.

Kissory Chand while faithfully serving the Government devoted his spare time for the good of the locality, and so, although an official by position, he became the virtual leader of the community. His first act was to join the local Committee of Education at Rampur Boalia. A debating club—the Friendly Club—formed at his instance was started in February, 1848, to discuss the problems of the day. He then influenced Babu Lokenath Maitra to establish an Anglo-Vernacular School in 1848 at Boalia (*Sambad Probhakar*, 27th. June, 1848, 17th. *Ashar*, 1255) and acted as its Honorary Secretary.

On the 28th. October, 1848, he was placed in charge of the Sub-division of Natore with the full power of a Magistrate.

A public meeting was held on the 22nd. January, 1849, at Kissory Chand's house to consider the question of opening a charitable dispensary at Natore. In moving the first resolution he

delivered a speech, and a Committee was formed. Kissory Chand was nominated the Honorary Secretary to the Committee.

An English School was inaugurated by Kissory Chand on the 1st. July, 1849, at Natore. He took a lively interest in the School; in fact he used to pay all expenses for maintaining it.

The First Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at his house on the 17th January, 1850, when the Secretary read the Report after a short speech. Doctor J. R. Bedford, the Civil Surgeon present at the meeting, pointed out the institutions founded by Kissory Chand and compared him with the " Man of Ross."

The Second Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Lokenath School was held on the 25th. June, 1850, when Kissory Chand, the Secretary, read the report, the most interesting portion of which was the formation of a section for teaching the girls of the locality.

In 1850 Kissory Chand laid a proposal for preparing a metalled road from Dighapatia to Rampur Boalia before the Ferry Fund Committee. He also influenced Babu (afterwards Raja) Prosonno Nauth Roy to pay the expenses who accordingly offered on the 26th. June, 1850, the necessary amount.

The First Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Natore School was held at Kissory Chand's house on the 8th. July, 1850. Kissory Chand, the Secretary, delivered a long speech.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at his place on the 21st. April, 1851, when a letter from Doctor J. R. Bedford was read. We give an extract from it :—" you (Kissory Chand) have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindoostan and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand."

The Second Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Natore School was held at his house on the 18th. August,

1851, with Doctor Bedford in the chair. The President delivered an address concluding thus:—"With Babu Kissory Chand Mittra's exertions you are all well-acquainted. To him you are indebted for your school and hospital, two most important institutions to a community's welfare,—the first to form the mind and raise it above sensual pleasures, the last to preserve life or cheer, if I may so express it, to the bed of death. I am sure you well understand me in saying that I feel more than I can speak of this gentleman's exertions to the good of this town in which his duties happily for itself lie. In reference to them and in conclusion to these few and imperfect observations I cannot do better than paraphrase our English bard and say:—

> Who bade your school and hospital to rise
> *Kissory Chand* each lisping baby replies.

A public meeting was held on the 24th. January, 1852, with Kissory Chand in the chair when Prosonno Nauth Academy was inaugurated. The President in moving the first resolution delivered an appreciative speech. The Natore School founded by him was subsequently amalgamated with this institution.

A general meeting of the residents of Natore was held at Kissory Chand's place on the 7th. April, 1852, to consider the desirability of putting into force Act XXVI. of 1850 (Muffosil Conservancy Act). Kissory Chand delivered an address.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at Kissory Chand's place on the 8th. April, 1852, when Kissory Chand, the Secretary, read the Report after a speech.

Kissory Chand also influenced the local zemindars to excavate tanks and *dighis* and to hold occasional fairs or *melas* of indigenous goods.

In about November, 1851, the Government decided to appoint an Indian in the Calcutta Magistracy. There were several suggestions, and one of the newspapers of the day wrote as follows:—"Considering that the Deputy Magistrates are

promoted only once and for ever it is due to them and one from among them and that the most meritorious should be translated to the Calcutta Magistracy. If the recorded opinions of the Superintendents of Police could guide the selection, the prize would no doubt fall to the lot of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, whose Muffosil experience and length of service added to the suave and conciliatory manner point him out from among the Uncovenanted Magistrates as the most eligible for the new office." But Kissory Chand was passed over and Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose was appointed in February, 1852.

On the 15th. June, 1852, Kissory Chand was transferred to the Subdivision of Jehanabad now Arambagh (my home Subdivision) in the Hooghly District. As at Natore here also he won the golden opinion of his official superiors ; but, although he distinguished himself as an intelligent and conscientious officer, he had not the same opportunity as in Rajshahi to carry out the measures of reform and improvement of the locality.

A general meeting of residents of Ghatal and the neighbourhood was held with Kissory Chand in the chair on the 30th. September, 1853, for considering the feasibility of establishing a charitable dispensary. The Chairman moved the first resolution with a persuasive speech. A Committee was formed including Kissory Chand's name as a Member. He was also appointed the Honorary Secretary to the institution. The Dispensary was opened but with Kissory Chand's departure its existence came to an end.

An English School was opened at the instance of Kissory Chand at the beginning of 1853.

As the road between Jehanabad and Dipa was in a dilapidated condition Kissory Chand raised the question in February, 1853, before the Ferry Fund Committee and got a metalled road constructed.

At a meeting of the School Committee held on the 2nd. March, 1853, Kissory Chand proposed to affiliate a public Library for the benefit of the locality. He also remarked that

Babu Joy Kissen Mookerjee of Utterpara and Babu Peary Chand Mittra of Calcutta would assist in presenting books, etc., to the proposed Library.

In 1854 Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, the Junior Presidency Magistrate, was appointed a Judge of the Small Causes Court in consequence of the death of Babu Rosomoy Dutt and Kissory Chand was appointed on the 14th. June of that year to the post. The *Friend of India* wrote thus;—"The *Englishman* reports that Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, has been appointed Junior Presidency Magistrate. He is said to have been an active and energetic Magistrate." But, as he was rather junior in service, his promotion unfortunately excited jealousy amongst his brother officers and Barrister candidates too.

On his arrival in Calcutta Kissory Chand at first took up his residence at a garden house at Cossipore on the river-side; but afterwards purchased a garden house, No. 1 Dum Dum Road and removed there on the 17th. June, 1855. Here he used to invite his friends, Europeans and Indians, to sumptuous dinners. In the life of his friend, Babu Roma Prosad Roy, which appeared in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, the author writes:—"Mr. Kissory Chand Mittra, who was a constant guest at the great man's (R.'s) table wrote in the *Indian Field* of those days that, though not convivial himself, Roma Prosad liked conviviality in others." This, we may say, also applies somewhat to the case of Kissory Chand himself.

At Cossipore he at once felt the want of an academic institution and the Paikpara English School was started on the 16th. October, 1854, chiefly through the instrumentality of Kissory Chand and Kumar Kali Krishna Roy.

Kissory Chand also worked for some time as a Member of the Managing Committee of the Hindoo Metropolitan College.

In 1852, while Kissory Chand was at Jehanabad, he purchased a share of the Calcutta Public Library and became a *Proprietor* thereof. On his arrival in Calcutta he used to read regularly

the books and magazines of the Library. He also used to take a lively interest in the General Meetings of the Library.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the Asiatic Society on the 1st. November, 1854.

The Society for the Promotion of Indian Arts was formed in April, 1854 and the School of Industrial Arts was opened on the 14th. August of that year. At a meeting of the Society held on the 8th February, 1855, Kissory Chand was elected a Member. At the General Meeting of the Society held on the 9th. May of the next year, an Executive Committee was formed which included Kissory Chand's name. From the *New Calcutta Directory* for 1856 compiled by A. G. Roussac (published by the Military Orphan Press) we find that besides the Society for the Promotion of Indian Arts, another association, *Society of Arts and Sciences in Bengal*, was formed "to give an impulse and systematic direction to artistic and scientific practice and enquiry." The members of the Committee were Lt.-Col. H. Goodwin, Raja Protap Chunder Sing Bahadur, Babus Ramgopaul Ghose, Kissory Chand Mittra and Joy Krishna Mookherjee.

The Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement was formed at Kissory Chand's Cossipore house. The inaugural meeting was held on the 16th. December, 1854, with Babu Debendra Nath Tagore in the chair, when Kissory Chand delivered an appreciative address. Babu Debendra Nath Tagore was elected President and Babus Kissory Chand Mittra and Aukshoy Coomar Dutt were Honorary Secretaries. Under the auspices of the Association Kissory Chand maintained a free girls' school at his Paikpara residence. The Association submitted a petition to the Government in 1855 for the suppression of polygamy. Subsequently when Pundit Issur Chunder Vidyasagar presented on the 19th. March, 1866, a similar petition, Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor, in his reply alluded to the petition submitted before. When the Hindu Widow Remarriage Bill (Act XV. of 1856) was introduced in the Legislative Council on the 17th.

November, 1855, the Members of the Association submitted a petition on the 7th. February, 1856, supporting the Bill.

The first widow marriage after the enactment of the Act took place on the 7th. December, 1866, which was supported by Kissory Chand by his presence. In fact Pundit Vidyasagar, Babus Ram Gopaul Ghose and Kissory Chand Mittra were the only persons, besides the members of the family, present in the hall where the ceremony took place.

The Second Annual General Meeting of the Association took place on the 27th. January, 1857, on which occasion Kissory Chand delivered a lecture. At the meeting Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra proposed a vote of thanks to Kissory Chand for his exertions during the period. The Association during the year discussed widow marriage, female education, suppression of polygamy, social condition of the depressed classes, hook-swinging on the *Charak puja* festival, *antorjoli* or as they called it, ghat-murder, etc.

Kissory Chand was nominated a Member of the Native Committee of the District Charitable Society in 1854 which post he held up to 1863.

Kissory Chand was a man of independent spirit. Determined to do what is right he did not care to please his superiors by cringing servility and adulation. We have noticed that some of his brother officers were jealous of his appointment. Kissory Chand had not only to contend with them, but also against some members of the European community who proposed a Barrister-Magistrate with more legal knowledge. But there were honest and conscientious persons among both the communities who once thought of holding a public meeting in order to thank the Government for the selection of a right person and to express their confidence in Kissory Chand. We quote the following from a newspaper of the day :—"The *Citizen* stated that a plot has been hatched against our Junior Magistrate, Roy Kissory Chand Mittra. We believed that the story against him was senseless and unmeaning and would soon die out, but our

contemporary assures us that the *Englishman* has raised it with an object. The post of Junior Magistrate and our contemporary might have added the Chief Magistrate are said to be wanted for Barristers ; and *ergo* the present incumbents must make room for them. Roy Kissory Chand Mittra may have his faults, who has not—and we have had occasion to comment on his decisions freely and to award to them censure or praise as they appeared to merit. He has not, we admit, received a scientific legal education and his not fully complying with technical requirements may be sometimes complained of, but we have no hesitation in saying that he makes up his deficiency in this respect by his talent and tact, his experience and his intimate acquaintance with the character and customs of the Natives who chiefly compose his division and to whom he renders more substantial justice than Mr. Briefless is likely to do. We are therefore surprised to hear it is under the contemplation of the Native Community to convene a public meeting to express their perfect confidence in the Junior Magistrate and to protest against the interested and unjust attacks upon him. We also understand that some distinguished Members of the Bar who do not belong to the clique have expressed their readiness to join their Native fellow citizens in this expression of public opinion. We think, however, that this demonstration is not needed and that his countrymen would do well to let Roy Kissory Chand Mittra alone, as he will, no doubt, survive all attacks of the supposed clique."[1]

The Government also appreciated Kissory Chand's work and appointed him a Justice of the Peace.

When he was appointed Junior Magistrate Mr. E. A. Samuell was the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, who was succeeded by Mr. G. F. Cockburn. Kissory Chand pulled on well with these two officers. When Mr. Samuel Wauchope took charge of the office, the post was designated as the Commissioner of Police

[1] *The Sambad Probhakar* of the 20th, July, 1854 (11th, Sraban, 1261 B.E.,) endorsed also a similar opinion.

for the town of Calcutta. Mr. Wauchope was of opinion that judicial officers such as Magistrates should help the criminal administration of the country and are expected to make up the small lapses, if any, of the Police. After filling the Bench with great credit to himself and to the country for several years, Kissory Chand, in an unfortunate hour, quarrelled with Mr. Wauchope and the malcontents alluded to above instigated the Commissioner of Police at this crisis.

At about this time a public meeting was held on the 6th. April, 1857, for the extension of criminal jurisdiction of the Muffosil Courts to all classes of subjects without any distinction of religion, race or place of birth. The restrictions against Government Servants writing for the press or delivering lectures in public meetings did not exist in those days, or if they did, they were conveniently ignored ; and Kissory Chand in seconding the first Resolution criticised the conduct of European officials in the Muffosil. The immediate effect of this was that Mr. Wauchope lodged a complaint with the Bengal Government on the 8th. April (*i.e.*, within 3 days) against him on a charge of miscarriage of justice. Kissory Chand submitted a report which satisfied the Government.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny a meeting of the Hindu residents of Calcutta was held on the 25th. May, 1857, for the purpose of considering the best means of expressing their loyalty and their readiness to afford all the assistance in their power to the Government. Kissory Chand was one of the promoters of the meeting.

During the Mutiny an address was presented to the Governor General in December, 1857, and from Kissory Chand's *diary* which appeared in a Bengali monthly, we understand that he was one of its organisers and acted as the spokesman.

He also wrote a pamphlet, *the Mutiny, the Government, and the People,* under the *nom de plume* of "A Hindoo." The main object of the paper was to vindicate the Indians against the charge of universal and active disloyalty which was brought

against them by a class of English politicians and also to justify the measures adopted and the policy pursued by the Government in dealing with the mutineers.

At the Third Annual Distribution of Prizes of the Konnagore English School,—a function at which I had the honor of presiding many decades later,—held on the 20th. July, 1858, Kissory Chand delivered a lecture stating that the Mutiny had nothing to do with the people in general and that education is the surest means of securing the fidelity of the subjects.

It also transpired that Mr. George Thompson, the famous political worker, who came to Calcutta at about this time, stayed with Kissory Chand at his Paikpara residence.

While he was engaged in these political propagandas, Mr. Wauchope reported to the Bengal Government that he had made alterations and interpolations in the Court records. Kissory Chand prayed for being tried publicly as none before him had ventured to do ; and a Public Commission consisting of Mr. H. D. Hamilton, Magistrate of Twenty-four Perganas, Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, Judge, Court of Small Causes, and Mr. H. P. Hinde, Barrister-at-Law, was appointed to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the imputations. Mr. Joseph Graham was engaged as Counsel to prosecute on behalf of the Government and Mr. John Newmarch, supported by Messrs. Judge and Watkins, Solicitors, watched the proceedings on Kissory Chand's behalf. It was a *nam ka waste* Commission and the result was, as Babu Kristo Das Paul wrote in the *Hindu Patriot*, "the earthen pot shared the fate which usually attends a collision with the brass kettle." The Bengal Government ordered on the 28th. October, 1858, that he be dismissed from the appointment of Magistrate from that date. After his dismissal the Government could not secure a single Indian suitable for the post and appointed Mr. G. S. Fagan, Barrister-at-Law. The conspirators consisting mainly of European elements were jubilant at their success, while the Indian official section who joined with them received a lesson. From the *Calcutta Gazette* of 3rd. June,

1870, we find that Kissory Chand was appointed a Juror and Assessor for the District of Twenty-four Perganas yearly under Section 330 of Act XXV. of 1861 subsequently amended to Section 401 of Act X. of 1872.

Kissory Chand now became a law-agent or *mooktiar* of several Muffosil zemindars. Owing to preponderance of Solicitors this profession is now neglected ; but formerly, when there was no means of easy locomotion, it was a very honourable and lucrative business. Both Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore and Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore were the *mooktiars* of several Muffosil zemindars. Mr. William Tayler, when he was Commissioner of Patna, lost his appointment for dereliction of duty during the Mutiny. He was enrolled as a *vakil* of the Supreme Court, but preferred to carry on business as a *mooktiar* in the very District where he was formerly a Commissioner.[1]

The *Indian Field* was started on the 27th. March, 1858, with Mr. James Hume, Kissory Chand's colleague in the Police Court, as the editor. Mr. Hume, with his co-operation, conducted the paper for some time ; and when he retired from India in about May, 1859, Kissory Chand was appointed as the editor. Some of his articles, which appeared in the journal in 1859, were subsequently published in book forms. Of these the following are noticeable: —

(1) Observations on the Rent Law, 7th. April, 1859. (2) Observations on the Sale Law, 25th. June, 1859. (3) Ryot and the Zemindar, 16th. July, 1859. (4) Education in India, 17th. September, 1859. (5) Muffosil Police, appeared serially from October to December, 1859.

Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's English novel, *Raj Mohan's wife*, appeared serially in the *Field*. Babu Narendra Nath Sen had his initiation in the journalistic career in this

[1] This is the same Mr. Tayler who had so grievously offended against the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter in 1869 and received exemplary punishments from the Hon'ble Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice.

paper. Kissory Chand conducted the paper for several years with considerable ability and it was afterwards incorporated with the *Hindu Patriot* on the 18th. May, 1865.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the British Indian Association on the 21st. September, 1859, and afterwards a Member of its Committee on the 29th. January, 1860, which post he held till his death. He used to take an active part in its management and on the following occasions he gave some of his principal addresses :—

(1) Ninth Annual General Meeting held on the 29th. January, 1860.

(2) Special General Meeting held on the 25th. November, 1863 (Bengal Agriculture Exhibition).

(3) Twelfth Annual General Meeting held on the 24th. January, 1864.

(4) Thirteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 15th. February, 1865.

(5) Monthly General Meeting held on the 19th. July, 1865 (Separation of Judicial and Executive Services).

(6) Six-monthly General Meeting held on the 31st. July, 1866 (Raja Protap Chunder Singh Memorial).

(7) Fifteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 6th. March, 1867.

(8) General Meeting held on the 18th. September, 1867 (re-Ayerton's motion in the Parliament).

(9) Sixteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 27th. February, 1868.

(10) Seventeenth Annual General Meeting held on the 26th. February, 1869.

(11) Eighteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 31st. March, 1870.

(12) Special Meeting held on the 4th. April, 1870 (Carnac Rivett's cotton production scheme).

(13) General Meeting held on the 22nd. September, 1870 (Re-Indian Penal Code Bill).

(14) Nineteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 24th. February, 1871.

(15) Quarterly General Meeting held on the 17th. November, 1871.

(16) Twentieth Annual General Meeting held on the 14th. March, 1872.

(17) Quarterly General Meeting held on the 30th. September, 1872.

Kissory Chand was a fearless advocate of his country's interests. It is very difficult to collect a complete list of his public lectures and addresses and we gather the following from newspaper files :—

(1) Meeting held on the 14th. February, 1861, at the British Indian Association Hall, re-N. W. P. Famine.

(2) Hurris Chandra Mookerjee Memorial Meeting held on the 12th. July, 1861, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(3) Meeting held on the 16th. April, 1862, at the British Indian Association Hall in honour of Sir John Peter Grant, the retiring Lieutenant Governor.

(4) Meeting held on the 7th. March, 1863, at the British Indian Association Hall to address Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Hallifax), the Secretary of State.

(5) Meeting held on the 21st. April, 1866, at the Town Hall to vote an address to Lord Hallifax on his retirement.

(6) Meeting held on the 12th. February, 1867, at the Town Hall, re-Orissa Famine.

(7) Meeting held on the 27th. February, 1867, at the Town Hall, re-Police Bill.

(8) Raja Radhakant Deb Memorial Meeting held on the 14th. May, 1867, at the Town Hall.

(9) Ram Gopaul Ghose Memorial Meeting held on the 23rd. February, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(10) Meeting held on the 2nd. September, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall re-Education Grant and levying of Road Cess.

(11) Prossono Coomar Tagore Memorial Meeting held on the 29th. October, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(12) Meeting held on the 18th. April, 1870, at the Town Hall, re-Imposition of Income Tax.

(13) Meeting held on the 2nd. July, 1870, at the Town Hall, re-Withdrawal of grant for English Education.

(14) Meeting held on the 3rd. April, 1871, at the British Indian Association Hall, re-Permanent Settlement Question.

(15) Meeting held on the 23rd. November, 1872, at the Uttarpara Public Library to present an address to Mr. James Routledge.

(16) Meeting held on the 26th. November, 1872, at the British Indian Association Hall to pass a vote of thanks to Henry Fawcett and the electors of Brighton.

Our readers will observe that Kissory Chand was a speaker at the Meeting held to vote an address to Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Hallifax) the grandfather of Lord Irwin, late Viceroy of India. When organised preposterous demands were made by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to coerce the Secretary of State in enforcing the cultivation of cotton in preference to anything else, he refused to do so. At the meeting held on the 7th. March, 1863, Kissory Chand said :—" Mr. Hugh Mason, a Member of the Chamber, has been pleased to declare that India means cotton and cotton means India. But Sir Charles Wood believes that cotton though a good thing and might be grown here not by Government but by private enterprise, is not the highest good of India."[1] The Manchester agitation was too strong for

[1] *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs from 1859-1866* by Algernon West, pages 116-17, published by Smith Elder & Co., London, 1867.

the Secretary of State to ignore cotton altogether, but in the process which followed to secure its extended cultivation, he softened the aggrandisement at every step and kept it well within limits.

Nemesis followed as it was bound to do. The indigo troubles also come into my mind in this connection, so the silk troubles of Bengal. Lord Irwin's fine and unshakeable interest in India in spite of abuse and calumny is hereditary. According to Sir Charles Wood the Manchester Chamber outweighed against his measures without considering the capabilities of India, or the tenure on which the land was held, or the position of the ryots.

A meeting was held on the 8th. December, 1869, at Natore to discuss the Road Cess Bill. Kissory Chand, representing the British Indian Association, attended and delivered a speech.

A meeting was held on the 27th. April, 1872, at the office of the *Friend of India,* Serampore, when Kissory Chand delivered an address on the *Life and times of Maharajah Krishna Chandra Roy.* An article, *Nadia Raj,* also appeared in the *Friend of India* of 1872.

The Bethune Society was formed on the 11th. September, 1851, with Doctor F. J. Mouat as President and Peary Chand Mittra as Honorary Secretary. At a Meeting of the Society held on the 11th. March, 1852, Kissory Chand was proposed a Member. He was a Member of the Committee of Papers of the Society from 1856 to 1859. At its Meeting held on the 10th. November, 1859, the constitution of the Society was remodelled and a scheme for division of its work into the following sections was proposed :—

(1) General Section with Mr. H. Woodrow as Chairman ;

(2) Literature and Philosophy with Mr. E. B. Cowell as Chairman ;

(3) Science and Arts with Mr. H. Scott Smith, Professor of Natural Science in the Engineering College, as Chairman.

(4) Medical and Sanitary Improvement with Dr. Norman Chevers as Chairman;

(5) Sociology with the Reverend J. Long as Chairman ; and

(6) Native Female Improvement, "inclusive of all that tends to improve and elevate the female mind and character, which from the very peculiar and delicate enquiries involved a native gentleman of the highest qualification, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, to head." But Kissory Chand declined and Babu Roma Prosad Roy was elected in his place.

Kissory Chand delivered the following addresses at the Society :—

(1) At a Meeting held on the 11th. December, 1862, on *Hindu women and their connection with the improvement of the country*;

(2) At a Meeting held on the 10th. March, 1864, on *Agriculture with special reference to Exhibition lately held at Alipore* ; and

(3) At a Meeting held on the 13th. December, 1866, on the *Lessons of the Famine.*

He also took part in the meetings held on the (1) 10th. November, 1859, to thank the retiring President, Mr. James Hume, (2) 8th. November, 1866, to express sorrow on the death of the Right Reverend Dr. E. B. L. Cotton, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and (3) 13th. December, 1866, to thank the retiring President, Major G. B. Malleson. At the time when Doctor Alexander Duff, the President, retired a deputation waited on him on the 15th. December, 1863. Kissory Chand was a member of the deputation. He used also to take an active part in the discussions that followed the speeches. Of these we gather the following items :—

Meetings held on the

(1) 11th. February, 1864, on which occasion Doctor Kanailal Dey lectured on *Combustion* ;

(2) 8th. December, 1886, on which occasion Miss Mary Carpenter delivered a lecture on the *Reformatory School system and its influence on female criminals.*

(3) 18th. January, 1867, on which occasion Major G. B. Malleson delivered a lecture on the *Empire of Akbar*.

He also presided at the meeting held on the 28th. November, 1867, when Mr. Justice J. B. Phear delivered an address on *Women teachers for women*.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the Council of the Bengal Social Science Association on its formation on the 22nd. January, 1867, and was also elected as one of its Vice-Presidents in that year. He delivered the following addresses in connection with the Association :—

(1) *Progress of Education in Bengal* on the 24th. July, 1867.

(2) *Festivals of the Hindus* on the 29th. January, 1868.

Here also, as in the Bethune Society, he used to join in the debates after the reading of the papers.

We have alluded to the David Hare Anniversary Meetings. Kissory Chand delivered the following lectures in the Meetings :—

(1) On the 2nd. June, 1862, on the *Hindu College and its founder* ;

(2) On the 1st. June, 1864, on the *Medical College and its first Secretary* ; and

(3) On the 1st. June, 1870, on *Dwarka Nath Tagore*.

He also presided over two meetings held on the 1st. June, 1865 and on the 1st. June, 1867 and often took part in the discussions which followed the addresses. Of these we gather the following :—(1) 1st. June, 1844, on which occasion Rev. K. M. Banerjea delivered a discourse, (2) 1st. June, 1845, on which occasion Babu Aukhoy Coomar Dutt read a paper and on (3) 1st. June, 1869, when Doctor Mohendralal Sircar read a paper. It is highly regrettable that these valuable Hare celebrations have ceased to be held which surely does not reflect credit on the educated Bengal of to-day.

From the *Calcutta Gazette* of 23rd. August, 1871, we understand that the book, *Memoir of Dwarka Nath Tagore*, after being printed at No. 1-1 Fancy Lane was published on the 10th. December, 1870, by St. Andrews Library, Government Place, Calcutta. The *Gazette* remarked as follows :—

"A very interesting memoir originally read at the 27th. Hare Anniversary Meeting at the Town Hall on the 1st. June, 1870."

At a meeting of the Barabazar Family Literary Club held on the 23rd. April, 1869, he delivered a lecture on *Mutty Lall Seal*. From the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 14th. September, 1870, we learn that the book, *Life of Mutty Lall Seal*, after being printed by Thos. H. Smith at the City Press, No. 13, Bentinck Street, was published by the author on the 9th. December, 1869.

At a meeting of the Utterpara Hitakari Sabha held on the 27th. August, 1869, he delivered an address on *Agriculture in Bengal*.

At a meeting of the Dalhousie Institute held on the 15th. September, 1871, he delivered a lecture on *Hinduism and Hindoo Reformers*.

At a meeting of the Mahesh Literary Society held on the 13th. January, 1872, he delivered a lecture on *Chaitanya*.

At a meeting of the Amratola Literary Club held on the 21st. May, 1872, he delivered a lecture on *Chaitanya, viewed as a mystic and Hindoo mysticism*.

When Captain David Lester Richardson was about to start in 1857 for England, a meeting was held on the 3rd. April at the Asiatic Society's Rooms to record the Indian community's obligation to him. Kissory Chand moved a resolution and was a Member of the Committee formed. Subsequently when Captain Richardson retired in 1861, a meeting was held at the British Indian Association Hall on the 4th. January of that year with a view to present an address to him. A Committee, of which Kissory Chand was a Member, was appointed and the Committee presented him on the 9th. February, 1861, a purse of Rs. 4,000

being the amount raised among his students as a mark of appreciation of his qualities.

The Calcutta College was founded by Babu Keshab Chunder Sen in 1862 and Kissory Chand was one of its workers. At a meeting of the College held on the 4th. October, 1864, he delivered a speech.

A public meeting was held at the *Cossipore Ashram*, garden house of Babu Kali Prosonno Singh, on the 19th. May, 1866, to consider the desirability of opening a hospital at Cossipore (the North Suburban Hospital). Kissory Chand took part in the meeting and was a Member of the Provisional Committee. At a meeting held on the 31st. August, the Hospital was opened. Kissory Chand moved a resolution at the meeting. At a meeting held on the 27th. April, 1868, an Executive Committee was formed which included Kissory Chand's name as a Member. He took a lively interest in its management.

In 1869 Mr. John Cochrane, Barrister-at-law, went to England. A deputation from the British Indian Association waited on him on the 27th. March of that year with an address. Kissory Chand was a signatory to the address and a Member of the deputation. For his siding with the Indians to vote an address to Lord Canning, Mr. Cochrane was ridiculed in the *Englishman* as '*Babu* Cochrane.'

The East India Association was formed in London, at about 1868 " to take an active part in the Indian amelioration." Kissory Chand was a member of the Association.

Kissory Chand was one of the promoters of the *Hindu Mela*. The first *Mela* was held in 1869 and the next one on the 12th. February, 1870. In the 1870 *Mela* a prize was awarded to Kissory Chand for his vegetable exhibits. Babu Nobo Gopal Mitter was the Secretary of the *Mela* and I have a recollection of attending the *Mela* of 1872. There was a *fracas* between the Police and the students attending the *Mela*. Captain J. N. Banerjea,—then the redoubtable Jiten Banerjea of Taltola,—won the honors of the day and stirring national

songs were sung, including Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore's *mile sabe bharat santan* (মিলে সবে ভারত সন্তান). I met both Babus Peary Chand and Kissory Chand on this occasion when they, with other heads of the community, afforded great protection to the students and did not allow the Police to interfere with them. I also have vivid recollection of meeting the Brothers Mittra at the *Baitakkhana* of our Wellington Street residence, then the *rendezvous* of all great talents and luminaries of Calcutta, who used to come to see my father and uncles.

The Indian Reform Association was formed on the 2nd. November, 1870, with Babu Keshab Chunder Sen as President and Babu Gobind Chander Dhur as Honorary Secretary. Kissory Chand was a Member of the Association. At a meeting held on the 28th. November, 1870, to celebrate the opening of the Industrial School and Working Men's Institution in connection with the Association Kissory Chand delivered a speech.

When the three Bengali Civilians, Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt, Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta and Mr. (afterwards a Knight) Surendra Nath Banerjea returned to Calcutta, a *soiree* was held on the 10th. October, 1871, in their honour. A Committee, of which Kissory Chand was a member, was formed to carry out the object. Previous to this when Mr. Satyendranath Tagore came back to Calcutta a party was organised on the 14th. November, 1864, and on the return of Babu Keshab Chunder Sen a similar party was given on the 24th. October, 1870. Kissory Chand was a promoter of both the functions.

The following articles, written by Kissory Chand, appeared in the *Calcutta Review* :—

(1) Rammohun Roy (October, 1845).
(2) India in the Great Exhibition (April, 1853).
(3) Hindoo Women (July, 1864).
(4) Phases of Hindooism (October, 1864).
(5) Indian Agricultural Exhibition (April, 1865).
(6) Hindoo Medicine and Medical Education (July, 1865).

(7) Orissa, Past and Present (July, 1866).
(8) Rammohun Roy (July, 1866).
(9) Radhakant Deb (April, 1867).
(10) Ram Gopaul Ghose (April, 1868).
(11) Kulin Polygamy (July, 1868).
(12) Burdwan Raj (April, 1872).
(13) Nadia Raj (July, 1872).
(14) Rajas of Rajshahi (January, 1873).
(15) Kassimbazar Raj (July, 1873).
(16) Modern Hindoo Drama (October, 1873).
(17) Kandy Family (January, 1874).

In the *Selections from Calcutta Review*, being selections of articles which appeared in the *Review* from its start to 1885, edited by Mr. James R. Furrell, sometime editor of the *Englishman*, the following papers [1] of Kissory Chand were included :—

(1) Rammohun Roy (first article).
(2) Phases of Hindooism.
(3) Burdwan Raj.
(4) Nadia Raj.
(5) Rajas of Rajshahi.
(6) Kassimbazar Raj.
(7) Kandy Family.

The following papers, written by Kissory Chand, appeared in the *Bengal Magazine* :—

Chaitanya (September, 1872).

[1] Besides Kissory Chand's articles the papers written by the following Indian gentlemen were published in the Selections.

Babu Peary Chand Mittra's	4	articles
The Rev. Lal Behary De's	2	do.
Mr. R. C. Dutt's	1	article
Babu Boroda Charan Mitra's	1	do.
,, Huro Chandra Dutt's	1	do.
,, Giris Chandra Dutt's	1	do.
,, Rajendralala Mitra's	1	do.
,, Bepin Behary Shome's	1	do.
,, Saroda Prosad Ghosh's	1	do.

The Presidency College (October, 1873).

In an article, "The Late Babu Kissory Chand Mitra," the Reverend Lal Behary De, the editor, mentioned that "with his wonted generosity and love of literature he associated himself with us from the beginning in the conduct of the Magazine."

Mr. C. T. Buckland in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors* writes thus:—"Possessed of rich stores of knowledge of western literature and master of a good English style, he (Kissory Chand) was reckoned one of the best English writers among his countrymen. His addresses at various public meetings were noted for their ability and fearless independence of spirit."

In mentioning the writers of the *Calcutta Review* the Reverend Doctor Geo. Smith in his article,—*The First Twenty years of the Calcutta Review*,—wrote thus:—"Of the two Brothers Mittra, Kissory Chand, who was at one time a Police Magistrate of Calcutta, has passed away. Peary Chand has enriched Vernacular literature with novels which are valued by competent critics. A reformer of the old school and in some respects like the Brahmo, he has not formally identified himself with anybody, dissident from Hinduism." About this, one of the newspapers of those days remarked:—"While he (Doctor Smith) has devoted about six pages to the Native Christian contributors, he has not given more than six lines to the Brothers Mittra, Babus Peary Chand and Kissory Chand, the latter of whom was at one time a mainstay of the *Review*. Such is the Missionary spirit of the writer!"

We have already alluded to Kissory Chand's article on Raja Rammohun Roy. In reviewing a book, the editor, the Reverend Alexander Duff, in the same number of the *Review* remarked:—"Undoubtedly, a *sound* education, widely diffused throughout the Native community of all classes and grades, must be regarded as one of the primary instruments of its effectual amelioration. Of the partial good, which has already resulted, amid many

disappointments and drawbacks, from the educational measures hitherto adopted, our own pages furnished demonstrative testimony. And when, in the spirit of the remarks there made, we simply state that the article in the present number, on Ram Mohun Roy, is the *bonafide* production of an educated Hindu, we think we have furnished a fresh argument to the friends of sound education to persevere more earnestly than ever in their philanthropic labours."

In the *Bengal Magazine* the Reverend Lal Behary De, the editor, wrote thus :—" Babu Kissory Chand Mittra belonged to a class of educated Bengalis whose number is daily diminishing, —pre-University men, who were, somehow, men of wider culture than the Graduates of the Calcutta University, of a more refined taste, more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of English literature, and more addicted to literary pursuits. Strange that our Colleges, which are now supplied with honour-men from Oxford and Cambridge, should turn out inferior articles! The result is perhaps owing to the system of education in vogue, a system the chief object of which seems to be to cram young lads with grammatical niceties or puerilities, with sapless etymological roots, with *notes* which are current only in the University market, with *abstracts* from which the spirit of the author has evaporated ; and we know not what *paraphrases* and *modernised versions*. The pre-University men enjoyed English literature; the young men of the present day endure it. Nothing is studied except what pays in the examination hall. No marvel that learning is not loved for its own sake. Kissory Chand wrote correct and manly English,—a style which one insensibly acquires by a constant study of the works of Addison, Johnson, Macaulay and other masters of English composition. His earlier compositions, like those of most young writers, were somewhat wordy; but age sobered his taste and made his style simple; and the last article he wrote on the " Territorial aristocracy of Bengal," published in the current number of the *Calcutta Review* is simple even to baldness. Amongst the hundreds of educated

Bengalis who write in English for the press, there are only a few who manage that difficult language with correctness and elegance. Of these few Kissory Chand was one of the best."

In his book, *English Rule and Native Opinion in India*, Mr. James Routledge writes as follows :—This notice (of Dwarka Nath Tagore) seems to lead naturally to the name of Kissory Chand Mittra who died in 1873. I believe he was a thoroughly brave man. I am sure he was very able. He had climbed his way from a lowly station to one of distinction in public service, when he had the misfortune to quarrel with an Englishman above him in position; and the Hindu, of course, went to the wall. He lost all the works of his earlier years. As a writer, however, he still had an open field which no man can close; and a powerful writer he was. He edited the *Indian Field*, afterwards incorporated with the *Hindu Patriot*. He contributed papers to the *Calcutta Review*,—the first paper on Raja Ram Mohun Roy and a series of brilliant sketches on the Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal. As a Hindu he was one of the most fearless I ever met, and I could see, although I met him twice, one of the most scornful of all unworthy cringing to Europeans. He belonged to a brave little band of native men, whom no Government can well afford to neglect and whom no wise Government wish to neglect.

In a footnote to the article, *Modern Hindoo Drama*, in the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. (afterward Sir) Roper Lethbridge, the editor, remarked as follows :—" We deeply regret to have to announce that while the foregoing article was in the process of being set up in type, its amiable and talented author departed his life on Wednesday, August 6th, 1873. For nearly thirty years Babu Kissory Chand Mittra has been an occasional contributor to this *Review* and his articles, rendered singularly valuable both by the special knowledge which he owed to his varied experience and by the freedom and candour with which he expressed his opinions, always met with a favourable reception from the press and the public. The first paper put forth by him in the *Calcutta Review*

was one of the life and times of Raja Ram Mohun Roy published in October, 1843. During the last two years his contributions have been numerous; and the present editor is largely indebted to him for most valuable assistance in compiling the series of historical and topographical memoirs now in course of publication in these pages under the general heading of *The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal.* Without the aid of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra it would have been impossible to continue that series; and the portion that has already appeared owes much of its interest to his extensive knowledge of the country and its history. By his death the *Review* has lost one of its most constant and most valuable supporters."

His great exertions began to tell seriously on his health and he was laid up with dropsy. Although suffering much from pains of disease for the last few months of his life his pen was not idle; he used to dictate papers for the *Calcutta Review.* During the last stage of his illness such was his repugnance to medicine that he would take them out of no body's hands, except those of his talented brother Peary Chand's who used to guide his tastes and studies. The love which the brothers bore to each other was exemplary. The great soul passed away on the 6th. August, 1873, at 11-30 p.m (23rd. *Sravan,* 1280 B.E.). It is a strange coincidence that fifty-two years afterwards Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, who at first served under the Government, but was, like Kissory Chand, dismissed and consecrated the remaining portion of his life to the service of the country, died on the 6th. August, 1925.

Kissory Chand was not a registered Brahmo, but he promulgated the teachings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy as his ideal. When the Brahmo Samaj was split up, he shared with Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore his religious views. In a public meeting he once humorously declared—"We are all for the *Adis,* none for the *Keshabites.* He had an idea that the goodness of Providence can be felt in all the deeds, words, thoughts and "even in the arteries of wise men."

In the *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*, 1855, we find the following :—" Babu Kissory Chand Mittra requested permission to offer a gold medal to the native student of the English Class of the Medical College for the best essay on *the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in the circulation of blood.* The Council acknowledged the liberality of Babu Kissory Chand, but could not recommend that the prize be offered to any but passed students." Readers will, in this connection, remember the thrilling story of the marvellous conversion of the agnostic who discovered the circulation of blood in human body,—Mr. William Harvey.

In his younger days Kissory Chand was a really handsome man and a good face, as the reader knows, is a good recommendation. In conversation he was a capital hand at *reparte* and was so full of pleasing anecdotes and flowing wit, like his brother, Peary Chand, that it was a pleasure to hear him at the table and at the *Baitakkhana.* He was an expert ventriloquist and had a wonderful faculty for imitation and would imitate the mannerisms of people so well that no one would make out that the speaker was an imitator. He was an agreeable companion, amiable, cheerful and communicative ; he spread sunshine wherever he was present.

Kissory Chand was married to Srimati Kailas Bashini, daughter of Babu Gora Chand Ghose of Rajpore by whom he had a daughter, Kumodini, who was married to Babu Nilmony De. Two sons of Babu Nilmony De, Mr. K. C. De, C.I.E., and Mr. P. C. De—were in the Indian Civil Service. Another son of Babu Nilmony De, Babu Hem Chunder De, is a Solicitor and Honorary Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Doctor Sushil K. De of the Dacca University, the distinguished author of the *History of the Bengali Literature* and the son of his distinguished father Doctor Satish Ch. De, Rai Bahadur, is a grandson of Babu Nilmony De. Babu Monmotho Nath Ghose, the famous English and Bengali writer, is a grandson of Kissory

Chand's daughter. Here is indeed a hereditary flow of talents.

The Committee of the British Indian Association, after his death, recorded the following Resolution—

"That the Committee of the British Indian Association desire to record their unfeigned and profound sorrow at the death of their colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. This mournful event has deprived the British Indian Association of a most able, energetic and devoted Member and the country of an accomplished public writer and speaker, a zealous champion of the people and an enlightened and earnest advocate of all matters connected with their intellectual and political movement."

This Resolution was included both in the Half-yearly and Annual Reports of the Association. At the Half-yearly Meeting in proposing to adopt the Report, Babu (afterwards Raja), Degumber Mitter, the President, remarked as follows:—"It is my painful duty to announce to you the untimely death of our lamented friend and colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. He was associated with us as a Member of this Association for many years, took an active part in its proceedings and had rendered valuable aid in its deliberations. You will, I dare say, approve of the Resolution, which your Committee have recorded on this melancholy event."

The two talented Mittra Brothers played a great part in the making of modern Bengal.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

I

The years were the eighteen nineties, the vogue was Aubrey Beardsley, and Oscar Wilde went about with a green carnation in his button-hole. Swinburne, an old deaf man, no longer a poet, was stowed away in a house at Putney in the company of another old, deaf man, Watts Dunton. In the immediate past were the lilies and languors of Swinburne's youth. So the poets of the nineties thought that it was a good thing to be lily-languid even if one were just lily-languid. They missed the poetic passion of Swinburne, missed his emotional intensity, and retained, or at any rate *thought* they retained, only the musical languor of his style. But it is possible to make out a bad case of a good cause, and, any way, one can have too much of a good thing. So behold the public annoyed with these dainty dandy poets, these 'pretty boys, witty boys, too, too, too lazy to avoid stagnation'—laughing at them, labelling them 'decadents,' finding *fin-de-siecle*-ism in the very manner of their dress and speech—eagerly awaiting a revival in the art of poetry with the dawn of the new century. Which came—and inevitably. While the nineties were still running, came the terrible counter-blast to the pretty attitudinizings of the 'decadents,' came with the vigour of a bugle's call that drowned the tiny voices of the tin-flutes; the name of this counter-blast was Rudyard Kipling. There was another man, too, writing in the early years of the twentieth century, who formed part of this counteraction (one shouldn't call it *re*-action): James Elroy Flecker. The new poetry was gorgeous, powerful and masculine ; the English public hailed it widely, giving it more praise at that moment than it really deserves. And that naturally ; for the public was relieved to find the ' pale, lost lilies ' and the 'roses, roses flung riotously in the

throng' swept away; and glad to find themselves in an atmosphere of splendour and wonder and full-blooded fleshliness. Like the voice of thunder boomed Kipling's words on English ears—oh, so joyously!—

> O the blazing tropic night, when the wake's a welt of light
> That holds the hot sky tame,
> And the steady fore-foot snores through the planet-powder'd floors
> Where the scared whale flukes in flames!
> Her plates are scarr'd by the sun, dear lass,
> And her ropes are taut with dew,
> For we're booming down on the old trail, our own trail, the out trail,
> We're sagging South on the Long Trail—the trail that is always new.

And hardly less the appeal of Flecker:

> And one the Bedouin shall slay, and one, sand-stricken on the way,
> Go dark and blind; and one shall say—"How lonely is the Caravan!"
> Pass out beneath, O Caravan, Doom's Caravan, Death's Caravan!
> I had not told ye, fools, so much, save that I heard your Singing man.

These lines of Flecker's are remarkably Kiplingesque: there are the same demoniacal gusts, the swinging rhythm of the long line and even the very effective trick of repetition. In fact there is much in common between these two poets. Both of them wrote about 'the Gorgeous East'—a most welcome theme to the imperialistic British mind; and Kipling's immense popularity with his countrymen may very well be accounted for simply by his subject-matter. For, what he wrote about was India, and not the semi-mythical India of spices and jewels, but the *real* India—real, at any rate, to the modern Britisher—the India of barrack-rooms, of sport and shikar, of wild beasts and wilder natives. Kipling's verses were, in a sort of a way, realistic. But not so Flecker's. The East *he* introduced to the English-speaking public was romantic and alluring and enigmatic: *his* was not merely a passage to India, but the golden journey to

Samarcand. In manner however he was very much like Kipling and these two poets, one feels entitled to say, represent between themselves an aspect of modern English poetry—not a very important aspect, perhaps, but, at any rate, distinctive and cognizable.

II

In the background of modern English poetry, as it has developed in some of the most notable poets, is the poetry of Swinburne. For as we shall presently see, the two themes that these poets mostly deal with are the evanescence of all things earthly, and the inevitability of death. Old as the hills these ideas are; but wherein may we find them more passionately and poignantly expressed than in the poetry of Swinburne, who wrote

> Not for their love shall Fate retire,
> Nor they relent for our desire,
> Nor the graves open for their call,
> The end is more than joy and anguish,
> Than lives that laugh and lives that languish,
> The poppied sleep, the end of all.

It is this pagan pessimism of Swinburne that we find in many of the modern poets, expressed in different styles. In the year 1896 a very small book of verses, called *A Shropshire Lad* first came out. The poet was A. E. Housman whose only other poetical work is *Last Poems*, also a very small volume, published in 1922. With the publication of *A Shropshire Lad* was the really modern English poetry born—for it is a book that has influenced, in some way or other, almost all the later poets. It is a book about death; the poet is haunted by the thought that after all the love and laughter of life there is death—inevitable and remorseless. The text of his poetry may be the famous lines of Shakespeare's song :

> Golden lads and lasses must,
> As chimney-sweepers come to dust.

Housman's mouthpiece is an uneducated, unsophisticated lad of Shropshire who tells us, as best he may, about his hopes and joys and fears. He makes no fuss about things—and so the poems are all very short, some having only a few lines. The language of the poems is that of a country-boy—unutterably simple. This simplicity, almost bareness of style, is something essentially modern, developed later on by that very great poet—Walter de la Mare. The language of modern poetry, by the way, may by itself form the thesis of an essay ; for, what with Masefield-and-his-damns and the frank, impassioned prose of D. H. Lawrence's *Pansies*, there is a lot to be said about it. We shall content ourselves here by remarking that all the barriers between the language of prose and that of poetry have been broken down ; the poets have earned for themselves the liberty of using whatever word or expression that may serve their purpose—irrespective of its 'caste.' And this has happened because of a great widening in the range of the subject-matter of poetry.

To return, however, to *A Shropshire Lad*. The poet, as we have said, uses a mouthpiece. But not always. There are poems where he speaks in his own person ; and even when his personality is veiled, the veil is but transparent, and clearly we see the poet's own mind through the veil. Housman constantly broods over death ; officially, he is a pessimist. But he is much more in love with life than an official optimist—Shelley, for instance, Shelley, who was so romantically in love with death. It is only natural that the 'pessimists' should love life the most—consider Swinburne, Housman, Hardy. *They* know that life is fleeting, that death may overtake us any moment—and that is why they want to make the most of life so long it lasts. It is the one single holiday of Pippa; and shame, shame unto him who wastes as much as a moment of this brief and beautiful life. And though death is 'an end, an end, an end of all,' Housman has this supreme consolation :

> I shall have lived a little while
> Before I die for ever.

And, filled full of the joy of life he cries out :

> I pace the earth, and drink the air, and feel the sun,
> Be still, be still, my soul ; it is but for a season :
> Let us endure an hour and see injustice done.

—'See *injustice* done!' The poet knows full well that he is not in the best of worlds ; but his sojourn is but for an hour, and for this hour he means to enjoy all that life can yield him, So also Thomas Hardy :

> Let me enjoy the earth no less
> Because the all-enacting Might
> That fashioned forth its loveliness
> Had other aims than my delight.

Rupert Brooke and de la Mare, too, are fully conscious of the transience of all things and the inexorable finality of death. Now, Rupert Brooke was, in a way of saying, the Keats of homely life ; but, unlike Keats, he could not 'fade far away, dissolve and quite forget,' the great shadow of death lurking behind all beautiful things. So, this 'great lover,' as Rupert Brooke rightly called himself, after having paid splendid tributes to all lovely things of life, cried out in agonized tones :

> ...But the best I've known
> Stage here, and changes, breaks, grows old, is blown
> About the winds of the world, and fades from brains
> Of living men, and dies. Nothing remains.

' Nothing remains'! Like an echo of Swinburne's pagan voice it sounds, like the knell of an irrevocable doom. But death, for Rupert Brooke, is not the utter finality it is for Housman. 'Oh, never a doubt but, somewhere, I shall wake'—Rupert Brooke assures himself. And yet it is *this* life he is enamoured of :

> Oh! Heaven's Heaven!—but we'll be missing
> The palms, and sunlight, and the south,
> And there's an end, I think, of kissing
> When our mouths are one with Mouth.

Walter de la Mare looks at the shadow of a rose and is reminded of death :

> The loveliest thing earth hath, a shadow hath,
> A dark and livelong hint of death.

And it is just because he cannot forget death that he enjoys life jealously, intensely :

> Look thy last on all things lovely,
> Every hour. Let no night
> Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
> Till to delight
> Thou hast paid thy utmost blessing.

The following lines, taken from one of the sonnets of John Masefield, would suffice to show how alike the poets of to-day think—on the subject of death :

> Roses are beauty, but I never see
> Those blood-drops from the burning heart of June
> Glowing like thought upon the living tree
> Without a pity that they die so soon.

Masefield, in his lyric poems, is sad—sad that there should be so much beauty in this world—beauty that is destined to perish. And yet he knows that beauty is the only thing that endures ; for, in a poem included in *Lollingdon Downs* where the main body of his sonnets appears, he dismisses 'the kings [who] go by injewelled crowns,' 'the merchants [who] reckon up their gold' and 'the priests...singing in their stalls' as 'a tale, a dream,' and then directly addresses the only thing he knows to be real :

> O Beauty, let me know again
> The green earth cold, the April rain, the quiet waters,
> figuring sky,
> The one star risen.

It is a sort of sacrament to him, this personal realization of beauty, which, he believes, would put him in harmony with the universe—this, and nothing else. Beauty is his religion;

nothing is more important to him. As he feels himself growing old he implores beauty to be with him so that even the darkness of age may 'blossom as the rose.'

We may just as well consider Masefield, now the Poet-Laureate, in some detail. The aspect of Masefield's poetry we have just discussed, though it most assuredly adds to his glory, is not that, however, for which he is famous. For one thing, he is a poet of the sea and sailor life, and his *Salt Water Ballads* is a perfect rival to Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads*. Besides, he has given us some beautiful lyrics, such as *Cargoes*, *Sea Fever*, and *The West Wind*. But it is his narrative poems that have really made his position unique. He is confessedly a Chaucerian—perhaps the best narrative poet of England after Chaucer, when we except William Morris. He is as thoroughly English as Chaucer was—and as democratic. *The Everlasting Mercy* and *Reynard the Fox* are, perhaps, the most powerful of his narrative poems. In the first part of the latter poem he has excellent characters—sketches done in the manner of the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. *Reynard the Fox* and *Right Royal* are poems about fox-hunting and horse-racing respectively—the two national sports of the Anglo-Saxon race. *Dauber* is a vivid and touching picture of nautical life—a poem that can easily challenge the finest sea-story of Conrad. Now, all of Masefield's narrative poems (*King Cole* not excepted, a delightful fantasy though it is) are rich in realism; the stamp of truth is on them; they are not only realistic, they are real. The persons are real, the incidents are, with some exceptions, convincing (for occasional lapses into sentimentality is Masefield's favourite vice), and the language is that of commonplace, everyday life. The characters are mostly taken from the lower strata of life, unadulterated men and women of flesh and blood with their characteristic vices—drinking, swearing and all. And he has been deliberate in his choice, as he declares in the poem called *A Consecration*. In powers of characterization and narration he is often as good as Chaucer; but it is a pity he has little or no humour.

III

'We are the dreamer of dreams'—so, once upon a time, wrote a poet about poets in general. It seems but natural, in consideration of the time O'Shaughnessy lived in, that he should have conceived the calling of the poet as dreaming of dreams. But ideas have changed; and in modern times one is called a dreamer in a sense quite different from that in which O'Shaughnessy used the word. For, alas, the word 'dream' is, to the modern mind, associated with Dr. Freud rather than with, shall we say Shelley. True; but this also is true that most of the modern poets are carrying on this dream business just as the Romantic poets had done. De la Mare, for instance; and Yeats—of course. But with a difference, and that an important one. The Romantic sort of dreaming was to ignore the world of dust and squalor altogether and soar in an ethereal region where everything is just as the poet's heart may wish it to be. Not so the modern sort. The modern poets would not deceive themselves. They take full cognizance of the world as it is, and yet reserve for themselves the right of dreaming about their heart's desire. Not for anything would they be 'world-losers and world-forsakers'; their poetry is not an 'escape from life' at all; they do not *want* to escape from life. They have accepted—gracefully, if not gladly—the life given unto them in the England of the twentieth century, they do not complain nor protest. They have seen and taken life as it is—the life of gold and of dross, and do not *want* a better one because there *can't* be a better one. All the same, there can possibly be no harm in dreaming. And so Walter de la Mare dreams on:

> I stood a dreamer in a dream
> In the unstirring night.

Housman, too, calls his skull a 'humming hive of dreams,' and the name he gave to his body was 'house of dust.' De la Mare, improving on the phrase, calls his body a 'haunt of brooding

dust.' He broods, he dreams. But not of an unattainable millennium like Shelley; he simply plays hide-and-seek with reality.

> Hide and seek, say I
> To myself, and step
> Out of the dream of Wake
> Into the dream of sleep.

And his dream of Wake is a world inhabited by fairies and elves and spirits, by children and beasts and birds—the world of his poetry. The extreme sensitiveness of his mind has something almost uncanny about it and the elusive, elfin delicacy of his style brings back to mind the word-wizardry of Blake. With the subtle charm of his caressing words, de la Mare has matched even the magic of W. B. Yeats. Sure it is that of all the modern English poets there is none like Yeats, for who else could have brought before us glimpses of a land ?

> Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise,
> Where nobody gets old and godly and grave,
> Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue.

Ah, how different it is from Shelley's idea of millennium, how *human*, how simple and non-metaphysical. The besetting vice of Shelley was that he mingled his sociology and politics into his poetry and made a mess of everything. What Prometheus plans for the future of the world is so extravagantly absurd that we can only smile at it, and yet there is in it the semblance of a newly formed cabinet laying down its programme. That Shelley actually believed in all this moonshine is bad enough, but what is worse—worst of it all—is that he should have wanted *us* to believe in it. But Yeats's land of heart's desire is so purely poetic, so completely and frankly a dreamland that the question of belief or disbelief does not arise at all ; we are too glad to surrender to the poet's vision, too glad to let the atmosphere suck us in. It may not be real in the sense that it does not actually *exist*, but it is real in a much deeper sense ; we *feel*

that the mood which inspired the poet was profound and genuine—which is more than can be said of the much more spectacular land that Prometheus dreamed of.

IV

This survey of modern English poetry, brief and inadequate as it has been, has been enough to indicate the modern poet's attitude towards life. It may, however, strike one as a singular fact that the *modern age is strangely poor in love-poetry.* Of the poets mentioned here, Housman has written no love-poetry as it is technically understood. Rupert Brooke has a handful of love-sonnets ; de la Mare in his volume called *Lyrics* and Masefield in *Lollingdon Downs* pretended to write about love, but really wrote about beauty and death. Not even Yeats has written any love-poem of that direct, passionate sort which we, who are familiar with the main tradition of English poetry, are used to. *There is only one modern poet who has written about love* with the same intense passion and endless interest as, say, Browning did ; he is D. H. Lawrence. Perhaps it will be said that D. H. Lawrence's theme was not love, but sex ; but at the present moment we know not which is which ; we have the sanity to realize that love, in its technical sense, is more or less a matter of sex. Be it said in his praise that with D. H. Lawrence sex was an obsession, a wonder which he probed in and out, about and around—and still couldn't marvel at enough. His fifteen volumes of novels and no mean output of poetry are all devoted to analyze and understand the dark, beautiful mysteries of sex. His love-poetry, which converse about two volumes are, to quote his own words, 'so personal that, in their fragmentary fashion, they make up a biography of an emotional and inner life.' He is outspoken ; much too outspoken, perhaps, for the British taste. He never minces matters ; nor does he play with words. With amazing directness and vigour he tells us about his experiences—various,

but always fervid—his moods touching all the keys between the height of carnal pleasure and the height of spiritual joy. And in this he is like Donne, somewhat like Donne, and unlike every other English poet. One can easily imagine the day when the name of D. H. Lawrence, with that of Donne, will come to stand for the greatest love-poetry in the English language.

A word, finally, about T. S. Eliot, a New-Englander by birth, but known as an English poet because he has spent most of his life in England. It is said that his poem *The West Land*, published in 1922, has influenced every poet who has written since, including those who have never read or even heard it. T. S. Eliot's contribution is meagre ; yet he is important. And that is because he is the ablest exponent of the symbolist movement—first started in America and carried on with vigour by a group of young American poets amongst whom we can count such famous names as Ezra Pound—and T. S. Eliot's poetry is almost forbiddingly obscure ; even the subtlest twist of Browning's style or the darkest filament of Meredith's mind is but child's play when compared with his *The Waste Land.* There is a lot of inscrutable symbolism that makes all this difficulty. But when he chooses to speak in ordinary, uncloaked language, as indeed he sometimes does, his poetry gives us a peculiar kind of pleasure. T. S. Eliot and D. H. Lawrence are the most modern of modern poets ; for in them we find the whole of modern life—not merely in its external details of trains and telephones, but in its passional and intellectual aspects. In the writings of these two men we find the complex psychology of the modern mind passionately apprehended and made fit material for artistic creation. Theirs alone is the poetry that could have been written only in the twentieth century.

BUDDHADEVA BOSE

Reviews

The Pickwick Papers: Charles Dickens.—Abridged and edited by Christina F. Knox. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Limited. St. Martin's Street, London, 1931. 2*s*. net.

This is No. 131 of the *English Literature Series*, started by the publishers and edited by Mr. J. H. Fowler. The book contains an introduction and indicates that in the abridged edition an attempt has been made to keep up the continuity of the plot ; many will regret, however, the need of presenting Bob Sawyer shorn of much of his glory. The book begins with an account of the author, but it is very brief, and we miss any reference to the other great works of the novelist beside the one under review and with which the young learner (for whom, doubtless, the series is intended) should make himself acquainted. The ' composition exercises ' and ' helps to further study ' at the end of the volume will come very handy and are an appreciable feature of the book. The excellence of the get-up of the series, with a design on the side and gilt lettering and ornamentation on the book, is thoroughly maintained in the present instance, and we recommend this abridged edition of the *Pickwick Papers* to those who propose to enjoy the immortal work of Dickens within as short a compass as possible.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Economics of Hand-loom.—By Prof. N. G. Ranga, B.Litt. (Oxon.), M.L.A. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2, pp. 302.

This was a thesis written by the author and presented to the University of Oxford. It surveys the socio-economic conditions of the weavers in the Madras Presidency. Working as the Secretary of the Re-settlement Economic Enquiry Committee and as an assistant of the special officer who surveyed the cottage industries of Madras he had an exceptional opportunity to observe the economic conditions prevailing in the hand-loom weaving industry.

Prof. Ranga points out clearly the uneconomic and inefficient organisation of the hand-loom weaving industry which provides work for roughly

a million people. Different kinds of industrial organisation from the skilled worker-capitalist and the independent artisan down to capitalist-employer organising workers in factory-like establishments exist. A true picture of the economic organisation of the industry, the relations between the employers and the employees, the wages or earnings of the weavers or their standard of living, can be secured by a perusal of this book.

Barring Amalsad's survey of the Madras Hand-loom Weaving Industry and a few writers' attempts on the description of "Khaddar" industry no successful survey covering the entire province is to be had. We congratulate Prof. Ranga on this timely survey and his chief aim in rousing the public apathy to the wretched, miserable conditions of economic slavery and despicably low standard of living of the weavers has been achieved.

But some of his recommendations are of such character as cannot be easily accomplished at the present stage of education of the weavers. The improving of the industrial and commercial organisation and the securing of cheap finance are indeed the twin remedies needed to improve their lot. Education in the three R's can hope to do some spade work in this direction. Co-operation to succeed must be attempted simultaneously in several directions than one. Mere co-operative financing without co-operative sale and purchase societies would accomplish nothing. A simultaneous and systematic drive is needed. As the mere cotton mill industry alone cannot cope to cover all the clothing wants of the people, every effort is needed to improve hand-loom weaving without fail. In the final chapter he makes a list of recommendations, many of which can and should be immediately carried out. The starting of Weaving High Schools at suitable centres, the creation of a Weaving Information Bureau, the starting of weaving industry magazines, the opening of textile colleges, the formation of a weaving bank with branches all over the district, the starting of a weaving commercial bureau, the opening of an emporium here and there displaying weaving products, the appointing of trade commissioners abroad to push the indigenous weaving products, the specialising of the weavers' womenfolk in suitable weaving occupations alone, the undertaking of sericulture and linen darning alone, the formation of a Weaver's Trade Board and the raising of the standard of living, are his main recommendations to improve the moral and material lot of the weavers. It would have been more convincing if the author had discussed the feasibility of some of his measures, *e.g.*, the successful working of a "Weaving Bank" and the Trade Board.

We hope that proper attention is paid to the other minor details and that accuracy of information is not sacrificed by hurried writing. More details are needed before it can be said that family budgets of few select families are really representative of the average weaving families. The author's information on the industry pertaining to the Northern Circars area appears to be gathered from first-hand contact and the dependence on Government Gazetteer for the state of Southern Madras Presidency is too apparent to be disputed by anybody.

The picture of the hand-loom weaving industry on the whole is a materially useful and stimulating one.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

A History of India, Part II—Muhammadan India. By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A. 4, Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

This book forms the second part of the authors' *History of India*, and deals with the period commencing with the early Muslim invasions and ending with the Third Battle of Panipat. It is, on the whole, a very useful compilation. An important feature of the work is the stress laid on social, economic, administrative and religious history. The history of Delhi, South India and the Upper Deccan has been dealt with satisfactorily, and the authors base their narrative largely on contemporaneous sources. But the treatment of the history of Bengal and Rajputana is hardly adequate or satisfactory. And it is to be regretted that old errors about Samarsi of Chitor falling at the battle of Tarain (p. 26), Muhammad "Bhaktiyar" (p. 93) conquering Bengal, and the exploded story of Bhimsi and Padmini (p. 46) are repeated in this otherwise excellent volume. Minor errors have crept even into the account of the history of Delhi. The correct name of the third Sultan of the Slave Dynasty is Iltutmish and not Altamish (p. 31), and the name of the last king of the line of Tughluq Shah is Mahmud and not Muhammad (p. 81).

The Commercial Policy of the Moguls. By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. conferred on the author by Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Pant deals with the period of the four Great Moguls: Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He has

collected a vast amount of material bearing on his subject. But it is to regretted that much of it is second-hand as a glance at the footnotes ow. We have no doubt references to some original authorities, *e.g.*, autiliya *Arthasastra*, the *Baburnama*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Akbarnama*, *Memoirs* of Jahangir, etc. But little use is made of the *Arthasastra* he chapter entitled "An Economic Survey of India up to 1556 A.D.". it is surprising that although the author is not unaware of the ellent translation of the Memoirs of Jahangir by Rogers (p. 123), he tes freely from the garbled Memoirs of Price (p. 119). The weakest rt of the work is Book I where we have such astonishing assertions p. 3) as "the Pauranic age (1400—700 B.C.)," "Lord Buddha saw the Light in 632 B.C." (p. 6), "neither early Hinduism nor Buddhism in India played any important part in developing the Science of Wealth, etc, etc."

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI

Ourselves

Outrage at the University Convocation.

At a special emergency meeting of the Syndicate held 5 P.M. on the 6th February, 1932, after the Convocation of the Senate, the following resolutions, moved from the Chair, were carried unanimously :—

I. That this meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate and of Fellows present expresses its profound thankfulness to Providence for the miraculous escape of His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, Chancellor of the University, from the dastardly attempt made on his life at to-day's Convocation, while His Excellency was delivering his address, and conveys to His Excellency its warm and respectful congratulations and an expression of its deep admiration for the wonderful courage and coolness shown by His Excellency on the occasion, particularly in continuing the proceedings to a close.

II. That this meeting desires also to offer its congratulations to the Hon'ble Lady Jackson upon His Excellency's escape and expresses its sincere admiration of the serene fortitude with which she stood by and supported His Excellency.

III. That this meeting expresses its deepest horror and abhorrence at the dastardly outrage and records its special sense of grief and humiliation at the fact that the precincts of the University should have been desecrated by the perpetration of such an abominable crime, particularly by one of its girl students.

IV. That this meeting reiterates its conviction that such acts of terrorism are opposed to the best traditions of India, and constitute a serious menace to the cause of the country's advancement and culture.

Moved by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, seconded by Sir Nilratan Sircar and carried unanimously :—

V. That this meeting places on record its profound sense of admiration and appreciation of the great courage and presence of mind displayed by the Vice-Chancellor at great personal risk in an exceptionally trying situation and desires also to record its sincere satisfaction at the spontaneous outburst of joy and cheering with which His Excellency was greeted by the entire assembly including the students as soon as it became known that His Excellency's life was saved and as His Excellency proceeded to resume his Convocation address.

We cordially endorse all the sentiments expressed and embodied in these resolutions.

* * *

KNIGHTHOOD FOR OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer Knighthood on our Vice-Chancellor, in recognition of the great gallantry which he displayed upon the occasion of the attempt on the life of our Chancellor, His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, at Calcutta University on Saturday, February 6, 1932, while he was addressing the Annual Convocation at the Senate Hall.

We highly appreciate this prompt recognition of the signal services thus rendered with such cool courage and presence of mind and at great personal risk by our Vice-Chancellor whom we heartily congratulate. We also record our profound thankfulness to God for the providential escape of our Chancellor to whom we offer our sincere and respectful congratulations.

* * *

THE MOUAT MEDAL

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Dr. Dhirendramohan Datta, M.A., Ph.D., on his successful completion of work during

the third year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1926.

* * *

A New Ph.D.

Mr. Tamonaschandra Dasgupta, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on "Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature.

* * *

Result of the M.L. Examination for 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the M.L. Examination held in December, 1931, was 3, of whom 1 passed in the second division and 2 failed.

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